

*Seventh Anniversary Celebration Number*

# Labor Age

**MARCH  
1929**

## **Workers Education Bureau Surrenders To Reaction**

*By A. J. MUSTE*

**25  
Cents**

**OUR CHALLENGE  
FIRES PROGRESSIVES**

...INDUSTRY  
FOR  
SERVICE,  
WITH  
WORKERS'  
CONTROL.





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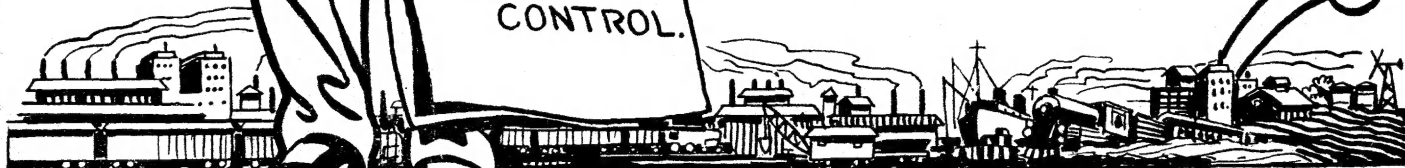
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\$2.50 per Year

# Labor Age

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



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# Following the Fight

## With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

### OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—  
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

## We Reach the Age of Reason

*Discussing Seven Years of Labor Age*

**T**HIS is our birthday party. It comes a bit belated, for good and sufficient reasons which are stated hereinafter.

Birthday parties are generally happy affairs—and this is no exception. Having lived through seven years of independent labor journalism—without succumbing to the measles of despair, the whooping cough of factional disruption, or the diphtheria of business unionism—our infant prodigy deserves congratulations. Seven years—the so-called dawning of “the age of reason.”

Accordingly, we invite all our readers and good friends to rejoice with us—and particularly at the wide field of action and service that lies ahead of us. Our “age of reason” period marks the opening of a new opportunity for progressive labor men and women, to bestir themselves in the advancement of the Labor Movement. We have taken the lead—in our last issue—in rallying those who wish to see things done, and done effectively, for the welfare of the workers.

This “Challenge to Progressives” statement was not an accident. It arose, naturally, out of the necessities of the present labor situation—and out of the principles and practices which LABOR AGE has championed, from its cradle cry onward. Open Shoppery had to be checked. The unorganized had to be organized. A vision of power had to be given the workers, based on eventual workers’ control of industry. Those were the things which we saw to be necessities in November, 1921—when the publication’s career was launched.

As an important aid to these objectives, we hailed the inauguration of the Workers Education Movement—a movement which we insisted must be pragmatic in character, equipping men and women for the actual labor struggle. Not Egyptian hieroglyphics or Greek culture would get labor students on their way, but a practical knowledge of new tactics, present economic conditions, and employer and workers psychology. There was no use for labor “graduates” who, in Tolstoi’s words, “could easily show how to gain

victories, though they had never smelt gunpowder.” There was no use for intellectual lounge lizards, who could dilate on every subject in the universe, including the ills of the Labor Movement, but who could not aid concretely in the labor fight. But there is much use for those—workers and “intellectuals”—who can use practical knowledge, based on idealism, for practical results in the actual trenches of the American labor struggle. We championed the Workers Education Bureau idea before it was sanctioned by the A. F. of L.—hoping that it would produce such men and women and follow such a course of action.

We have kept our finger on the pulse of economic events, and have moved forward with them. We began early to look into the new development represented by the B. and O. plan and labor banking. We predicted the fusion of labor and farmer forces behind La Follette and his nomination for the Presidency in 1924, long before any other group was thinking of such a step. We still recognize this adventure as a bridge over which future labor-farmer political fusions can march, to independent political action that will be even more effective. Not satisfied with long distance shots at Company Unionism—the greatest foe confronting a free labor movement—we went out into the field, to look these monstrosities over at close range. At Bayonne, we not only studied but planted the seeds of revolt. The General Electric at Lynn, the Lawrence Leather at Peabody, the Bethlehem Steel at Lackawanna and the Real Silk at Indianapolis, were all looked into, and the inadequacy of the company unions in each place was shown by facts gleaned in mill and factory. They were all maintained by intimidation, discrimination and widespread spy systems. To combat them, however, new methods were needed and an out-and-out industrial unionism.

Having marked out the plan of battle from the field itself, we decided to go out and show by example that the business of organizing and of striking successfully was not a lost art. Unless



we could demonstrate that, our various conclusions and suggestions to the Movement were mere pious platitudes. In the short and sweet words of the street, they would prove to be so much "hot air."

Now, we had had enough of "hot air," and the whole platform which we urged for intelligent labor action was based on an idealistic but pragmatic approach to the workers. The Labor Age Service Bureau was born, accordingly, to show that the workers could be organized and that they would fight. The extended report of the Bureau, to be published next month, will be a happy proof that we were not barking up wrong trees.

Through the courtesy of Robert W. Dunn, we were enabled to issue his work on "Company Unionism" as a handbook for this struggle. Through the Brookwood pages, we began to bruit abroad the Brookwood idea, which reached its challenging high points in 1927 with A. J. Muste's articles on "Unionism That Won't Organize" and "Unionism That Will Organize." Steadily we pointed out the necessity for action based on these various thorough studies of what we were up against. The Negro worker, the woman, the new generation—all were shown as potential units in a live Labor Movement. The Mitten-Mahon agreement was put to the acid test, objectively and quietly. All sides were heard, and it was found wanting.

We can say quite confidently that we were the voice of the only labor group that understood the American economic scene and the American workers, organized and unorganized. Present events are demonstrating that, and future events will make it a certainty.

The failure of the Movement to respond to the methods of campaign which we had discovered and proved to be vital, its growing apathy and its strange attack on one of its most helpful assets—Brookwood—caused us to take the bull by the horns. Hence, "The Challenge to Progressives"—a challenge which must be met and answered, as we propose to do. All those who profess a belief in a militant labor policy (rather than in a program of labor disunion, disorganization and decay) have now the chance to assert themselves by cooperating with us in this task.

You can understand now why our seventh birthday party takes place in March, 1929 instead of November, 1928. We were waiting for action or lack of action at New Orleans. We wished to sound out again the soundness of the policy which we had outlined in the past, before standing solidly on it and presenting it in a challenging way for others to stand upon. We believe in doing a thing right, while we are at it.

The time is now ripe for Progressives to DO a few things. It is up to them to begin a great advance, that will organize the unorganized and make the 16 points in the Progressive program live realities in these United States. During this

coming year we shall unfold the ways and means, in this advance. The time is here for the Labor Movement to Move and Fight and Win.

### REVIVING UNITY

OUR lusty infant has shouted out for unity—and on occasion its voice has been heard.

In the textile field we saw weakened organizations attempting to tear each other to pieces rather than make common cause against the common foe. LABOR AGE rushed in where angels and devils might well fear to tread, emphasizing the need for united organization before textile unionism could move forward.

This led to the famous Unity Conference, through which Local 33 came into the United Textile Workers and the way was paved for the final affiliation of the New Bedford trade unionists with the A. F. of L. organization. President Thomas McMahon has continued that wise policy ever since, and it is to be hoped that the negotiations with the Associated Silk Workers will be resumed with final success.

We have also looked forward to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers becoming a part of the general movement of labor. And while that hope has not yet been accomplished, we will continue to emphasize the folly which keeps this large group of workers, in control of an extensive market, out of the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. In no instance that we know of could the will find a way easier for the doing of good than here. There is no real reason that we have ever heard of why this important achievement cannot be accomplished.

Changing industrial conditions have likewise made amalgamation of craft unions a vital necessity in a number of fields. We have not hesitated to point out this need, and to discuss the obstacles that must be overcome to bring this to pass. Our readers are aware that the demand for industrial unionism in the basic and factory industries has run through our pages like a refrain. The "canning" process that has gone on in our entire social life can be offset in no other way. The machine-controlled man, which is exactly what our modern worker is becoming, is in danger of developing into a thinker of "canned" thoughts. At work his boss does all the thinking for him. When he sends a Valentine or Christmas wish, it is all cut and dried by the Western Union. His newspaper editorials are largely syndicated ideas—and an efficiency engineer guides his political destinies!

### THE WAR ON SPIES

IN one of his castigating swan-songs, Senator James Reed of Missouri has called the creature "spy," "the lowest form of animal life." That delightful phrase was applied, of course, to prohibition snoopers. It is doubly applicable to the

# Seven Years of LABOR AGE In Headlines

Answering  
the Open Shoppers

What the Railway Workers Face

The Shop Crafts  
Move On

"Unionizing  
the Brain Worker"

"The Railroads for the People!"

Workers Education  
What's It All About?

Wanted:  
A Real Labor Party

Shall Strikes  
Become Crimes?

Confessions of a Labor Spy.

Why Mr. Coal is Ill

**A NEW SERVICE**

The Workers  
Educate Themselves

Why Amalgamation?  
The "Outlaws" Speak for Themselves  
Unity Through a Round Table Conference Is Suggested  
By JOHN P. O'CONNELL

Facts Beat the  
Industrial  
Unionism?

"La Follette for President!"

The Kind of Unionism  
That Will Organize the Basic Industries

Passaic

Are Women Organizable?  
5-Day Week

"Loyalty"-Breeding  
Devices

Mitten Management  
and Union

Labor Banking...

Atterbury "Company  
Union" Camouflage

Promise or Menace?

Is Real Silk Real?

We Are Acquitted  
And Other Echoes from Kenosha's Battle Front

Kenosha—A City Aroused  
A Suicidal Policy

"Democracy"  
a la General Electric

The Call of the South

RALLY TO BROOKWOOD!

A. F. of L. Convention  
The Strategy of Disintegration

**The Challenge**  
To Progressives



## LABOR AGE

labor spy. No filthier vermin walks about disguised in human form.

It has been our contention for many moons that the fear of God and the workers should be put in these informers and undercover men. We have proudly contributed our share toward that end. Out in the field: "Yellow Dog" MacDonald was driven from Kenosha by our expose of his record, and dares not put his nose inside the confines of that city. Ashamed, the Real Silk Company hid him while the Church Commission investigated that slave pen in Indianapolis. LABOR AGE mercilessly exposed MacDonald and his methods, and also his partner in crime, C. E. Russell. The latter was the subject of the story of how a crew of spies attempted to frame up the late Senator Robert M. La Follette as a "red" in 1924. Russell got \$50,000 out of the attempt, though it failed.

These two rare specimens of humanity—MacDonald and Russell—have now formed a close alliance. They have launched a new organization to drive "radicals" out of the Labor Movement. (It bears the imposing name: "Allied Manufacturers Association, Inc.") We find this exceedingly amusing, as every one who is worth a whoop as an organizer is "radical" in MacDonald's opinion. At least, he endeavors to rid soft-brained employers of their money by such propaganda. "Yellow Dog" has had the blessing and support of none other a person than Mr. Ralph Easley, secretary of the National Civic Federation. Easley and this imposer of "yellow dog" contracts conspired in a slimy, underhanded attack on the editor of this publication for his good work in organizing the Real Silk workers.

We found the labor spy maggots alive in Kenosha, and brought them out into the light of day on every possible occasion. One of them still reposes in the county jail for his attacks on the editor of LABOR AGE. The Allen-A Company must rue the day that it ever put any faith in "gentlemen" of that shady school. Detective agencies sent in professional strikebreakers, whose vicious record, as published by us, caused a popular demand for their expulsion from the city. The company itself admits today that these men were worthless riff-raff.

### THE CIVIC FEDERATION DOG

OUR mention of Ralph Easley in the company of labor spies is a partial illumination of the mental processes of that agent of Open Shoppery.

We invite our readers, for their edification, to gaze upon an item in the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS of February 14th. It recites the battle being put up by President John H. Walker of the Illinois Federation of Labor for an Old Age Pension law, before the Illinois legislature. Then we read this:

"Douglas Sutherland, secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation, who will oppose the measure, as he has done successfully at several sessions in the past, reserved his argument until a substitute for the one under discussion comes up for consideration."

There we have the issue joined: The Civic Federation vs. Labor. It is an issue that has existed for long. The Civic Federation is the outpost of Open Shoppery—proving it by its fruits. The old age pension granted by employers is one of the hocus-pocuses devised to defeat Organized Labor. The Civic Federation is the champion of such industrial pensioning on the slave plan, and against Old Age Pensions by the state. The Federation is hand in glove with every Manufacturers' Association in its opposition to the only decent way to grant worn-out workers their just protection in old age.

We think an investigation is in order to determine where the money comes from to finance Easley and his cohorts in their anti-labor fight. They have played the "dog in the manger" game entirely too long.

### CAN PROGRESSIVES ACT?

OUR "Challenge to Progressives" has aroused comment. That much can be said for it at this hour.

A number of letters say: "Bravo!" "Fine!" And then, they end with a mighty "But."

They feel that old Progressives are worn out, and that new ones have not yet appeared on the scene. They quote old Progressive labor men (now labor leaders) as saying, "We don't intend to organize the unorganized. It is impossible."

Now, we might as well be thoroughly understood. We do not care a continental damn for the man or men who are gangrened with inaction and despair. Our appeal is to those who mean to do something, no matter what the conditions may be. The hour to do, on a Progressive basis, has arrived. If the number turns out to be small, that does not disturb us in the least. All we are interested in is to get results, and to see results—for a pragmatic idealism. We want to see a united voice raised, and followed by action, that will fight to the last ditch for the American workers in terms of the American scene.

Let this be thoroughly understood: The American workers can be organized. They can be enthused into fighting for their rights. But a dry and dead Business Unionism will not do it for them. Neither will a doctrinaire group, conducting revolutions by phrases. We mean to appeal to those who are young or who have the eternal spirit of youth. We are encouraged by the fine response, and by the hope that lies in so many souls and that can be fired into realization.

# Workers Education Bureau Surrenders To Reaction

By A. J. MUSTE

**A**BOUT ten years ago the workers' educational movement in this country came in with a flourish of trumpets. Dozens of classes and labor colleges were being started. Many labor organizations were genuinely interested and enthusiastic. All the intellectuals were in a glow, feeling that once more the world was going to be saved. It was one of those golden dawns.

The report of the Executive Council to the recent A. F. of L. convention suggests that we have come to the end of a period in the history of this workers' education movement and that there should now be "a general appraisal of the work that has been done, the methods followed, aims asserted, policies pursued and the net results"—also that there should be mapped out a "program for the future" based on "a critical analysis and estimate of the past." There is all the more reason for such a stock-taking just now because on April 5-7 the biennial convention of the Workers Education Bureau of America will be held in Washington, D. C. What of the situation then as the period which began in 1919 draws to a close?

*Nobody with even a slight knowledge of the situation and a moderate desire for truth telling will paint a rosy picture of workers' education in the United States today.* In these ten years dozens of classes and labor colleges have been started and have fallen by the wayside. Some of the most notable experiments such as the work in Sub District 5, U. M. W. of A., Illinois, or District 2, U. M. W. of A. are absolutely wiped out. In other outstanding classes such as that of the Boston Labor College, the pioneer of all non-resident workers' education enterprises under trade union auspices, there remains but a skeleton of a once flourishing enterprise. Furthermore, if a list is made of workers' education enterprises in the country which show some vitality and can boast some achievement, for example, Bryn Mawr, Barnard, Wisconsin and Southern Summer Schools for Women Workers, the work of the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A., the work of the Womens' Auxiliaries, the Rand School, Brookwood, the Workers' Schools of the Communists in New York and a few other places, the Philadelphia and Baltimore Labor Colleges, the work in Salem and Springfield, Mass., Passaic and Paterson, N. J., the Piedmont Organizing Council in North Carolina, it will be found that with possibility one or two exceptions, these enterprises owe little or nothing at all to the initiative or help of the official workers' education movement. That is, the Workers Education Bureau, that some of them indeed have had to contend with its open or secret enmity.

*Why is it that there is little workers' education in the country and what there is owes almost nothing to the*

*inspiration and aid of the W. E. B?* The story is, of course, too long to tell in detail here. Partly, what has happened to workers' education is simply one phase of what has happened to the entire labor movement in the Harding-Coolidge epoch, under the attack of the open-shoppers, company unionists, injunction judges and all their tribe. Such considerations as these should be borne in mind as well as the service sometimes rendered by the W. E. B., as for example, in publishing promptly last year the brief in the Interborough Rapid Transit injunction case against William Green, et. al., a veritable storehouse of information on many matters of the greatest moment to labor and its friends, when we analyze the history of the workers' education movement in recent years, and in particular seek to appraise the W. E. B. Nevertheless, as the A. F. of L. Executive Council suggests, it is a time for "critical analysis" and not for hokum and soft soap.

## Inefficiency Rampant

1. *The Workers Education Bureau is inefficient.* Complaints are frequent that letters are answered tardily or not at all, applications of labor classes for affiliation are kept waiting for months without satisfactory reply, orders for books are not promptly attended to. A Research Department is set up and then permitted to vanish. Why? How? What is more important, too little time and energy are devoted to vigorous and efficient promotional work in the field. Some of the time that should be devoted to this work is spent in attendance on labor and other conventions, of course not a bad thing in itself. However, securing the good will of colleges, universities, learned societies and the higher-ups in the trade union ranks for workers' education does not mean anything if promotional work in the field is neglected so that there is not any actual workers' education going on to benefit from all this good will. It may be said in reply that to be sound, workers' education must be promoted by local agencies from below, not by a central agency from the top. There is something in that, and it constitutes an additional argument against devoting an undue amount of energy on speechifying at conventions, since there is a very distinct limit to what can be accomplished for workers' education by convention resolutions. For the rest, it is one thing not to force education on workers from the top. It is another thing not to supply them with information, enthusiasm and inspiration from the central agency to which they look for these things. Nor does the argument about local initiative constitute an excuse for putting poor representatives in the field when more efficient and experienced ones are available.

2. *The Workers Education Bureau becomes more and more undemocratic, therefore less sound both from the trade Union and the educational standpoint.* In



those bright days of 1921, when the W. E. B. was founded, the conventions were made up largely of delegates from the local unions and city central bodies which were actually carrying on educational work and of the teachers and worker-students who had an immediate personal interest in workers' education. The workers' classes were represented officially and were looked to for active participation. Soon things began to change. This was too much of a workers' movement, a people's movement, a youth movement. Student associations were deprived of representation in the convention by the constitution adopted in Philadelphia in 1925. The report of the Committee on Officers' Report to that convention recommending that the incoming executive committee devise some way to give representation to students in workers' classes and to student associations, so that these trade union students' might feel that the enterprise was really theirs, was never acted upon. Now, labor classes themselves are spoken of in a deprecating manner as "fly-by-night affairs" and it is even considered doubtful by some whether it is safe to give local unions a voice in the control of workers' education. The Los Angeles convention of the A. F. of L. recommends, and all signs indicate that the approaching convention of the W.E.B. is expected to adopt, the suggestion that only representatives of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and of international unions (groups which already have six out of eleven representatives on the Executive Committee of the W.E.B., not counting the secretary) should have representation on the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. This cuts out teachers and students of workers' classes from all representation on the governing body, and unless a very strained interpretation is to be given to the recommendation of the A. F. of L. convention, local unions, central labor unions, district councils and state federations, the trade union bodies which by tradition are the agencies through which the American labor movement does its educational work, and which in practice have carried on most of the workers' education that has been done, are also cut off from representation. This is what becomes of our vaunted democracy. When the W. E. B. is urged to be efficient, we are told that initiative must come from the bottom, not from the top, but great care is taken not to encourage those "at the bottom" by giving them some share, according to democratic

principles, in the enterprise in which they are the ones most deeply concerned.

### Safety First

3. *The W. E. B. is more interested in making workers' education safe than in making it efficient.* That kind of an attitude is sure to paralyze any educational movement. Any education worth its salt is bound to be dangerous—to somebody. You cannot put ideas into people's heads without running some risks. We in America, however, are supposed to believe that there is less risk in educating the people than in keeping them ignorant and dumb. The W. E. B. also professes to believe this, but it does not act on its belief. The Secretary regards himself as a confidential reporter for certain elements in the labor movement rather than as a promoter, an executive or an educator. Instead of using the Bureau to interpret educational methods and ideals, liberal and radical tendencies in the educational movement to the official labor movement, he regards it as his chief business to guarantee to the latter that no liberal and radical tendencies will be permitted to raise their heads in workers' classes, that only the pure and undefiled gospel will be handed out to the tender minds that attend such classes. Let some live subject be discussed in a workers' class or conference, let an unorthodox tendency show itself, and there is sure to be a gentle hint from some quarter immediately that people must watch their step.

At the Boston convention of the W.E.B. in 1927, there was a goodly attendance of teachers and students of workers' classes and of progressive unionists. No secret was made of the fact that to some of the powers-that-be this convention showed "dangerous" tendencies. They were even people there who favored a resolution petitioning Governor Fuller to do something about Sacco and Vanzetti. But this is not all. At one time, over a period of several months, Brookwood was subjected to petty annoyance by the W. E. B., and when it came to a show-down, it was found that the "charges" against Brookwood were chiefly that a couple of Brookwood graduates had worked for another candidate than John L. Lewis in a United Mine Workers election, and that some members of a certain union while at an institute at Brookwood had partaken of drinks other than water, coffee or tea. It was not charged (whether to Brookwood's credit or discredit, who shall say?) that Brookwood

## THE INDICTMENT

*The Workers Education Bureau is inefficient.*

*It becomes more and more undemocratic, therefore less sound both from the trade union and the educational standpoint.*

*It is more interested in making workers' education safe than in making it efficient.*

*The progressive laborites who were responsible for founding the W. E. B. have been systematically pushed into the background.*

*The W. E. B. is spineless when a real issue in workers' education arises.*

*It is more concerned to have a university label than a union label on workers' education.*

*It supports the National Civic Federation tendency in the labor movement, the tendency to company-unionize the movement.*

had furnished the drinks! What kind of education can possibly survive under such a peeping-in-the-key-hole policy?

### Try to Oust Maurer

4. *The progressive laborites who were responsible for founding the W. E. B. have been systematically pushed into the background.* At the same Boston convention above referred to, one or two progressive labor people were re-elected to the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. and a couple more were added. There were not so many but what they could always be out-voted. Nevertheless, from April 1927, the date of the Boston convention, until December of that year, no meeting of the newly elected executive committee was called. During the entire year of 1928 there was no meeting of the newly elected executive committee. In May 1928 an attempt was made to hold a meeting on an inadequate two day's notice, on the excuse that certain out of town members were going to be in New York, though other out of town members were not consulted. As there was no quorum, under these circumstances at this May gathering, it was agreed by those in attendance that a regular meeting should be held in July. No effort was made to hold such a meeting in July. No meeting whatever was held for another 8½ months until January 1929. Meanwhile strenuous efforts were made to unseat James H. Maurer from the presidency of the W. E. B., an office which he had held since the founding of the organization and to which he had been elected by the Boston convention. The excuse was that Maurer was resigning from the presidency of the Pennsylvania State Federation, but oddly enough the effort to declare his W. E. B. office vacant was made even before the convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation at which Maurer was to resign was held. There was nothing in the constitution or by-laws, nor in the practice and precedents of the W. E. B. on which to base the contention that Maurer's office as president was vacated. Doubtless it may be inconvenient to have Maurer preside at the forthcoming Washington convention. It is a typical instance of the systematic effort to nullify all militant, progressive influences in the councils of the W. E. B.

5. *The W. E. B. is spineless when a real issue in workers' education arises.* Whatever we may think of Brookwood, no one questions that the Brookwood-A. F. of L. controversy was of great importance for the workers' education movement. Brookwood was affiliated with the W. E. B. The president of the Brookwood Board of Directors, a labor member of the Brookwood Executive Committee, a prominent graduate and the present writer were all members of the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. Surely, the Bureau might be expected to take cognizance of an issue of such importance for workers' education policy and involving the existence of one of its affiliates.

What did the administration of the Bureau do about it? The answer is "Pussy-foot." No meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bureau was called to discuss the problem. There were whisperings in hotel

lobbies to the effect that Brookwood was automatically disaffiliated from the W. E. B. because it had not paid its affiliation fee on time, a point which was discreetly dropped when the case finally came before the W. E. B. Executive Committee for consideration. That was all. If the W. E. B. knew or thought that the A. F. of L. was right in its action against Brookwood, why did it not come out frankly and say so? It would have merited more respect than it does now. It has, however, confessed that it had no charges against Brookwood and had made no investigation in connection with any charges. What shall we say then of the administration of an organization that calls itself "educational" standing silently by while a lynching is perpetrated or attempted?

### Rubber Stamp Education

It has been suggested that in view of the action taken by the A. F. of L. in the Brookwood case, no other course was open to the Bureau than to disaffiliate Brookwood. That means that the Bureau is a rubber stamp for the A. F. of L. It was not intended to be that by Samuel Gompers when the A. F. of L. entered into a "cooperative arrangement" with the Bureau. Under that arrangement, the A. F. of L. Executive Council was to appoint three out of the eleven members of the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. The rest were to be elected by various groups at the Bureau's own convention. When the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. concluded that it must act as a rubber stamp for the A. F. of L., it was violating its own constitution. But, of course, there are a good many things that seem to have been good enough for Samuel Gompers but are not good enough for some of his successors, and as was said long ago, what's the constitution among friends?

Under certain circumstances, the increasing influence of the official labor movement in workers' education might be welcome, though dictatorship over a supposedly autonomous auxiliary organization is never healthy. There is no sign, however, that increasing influence of the A. F. of L. officialdom in the W. E. B. means that there is going to be more education in the labor movement. On the contrary, the general tendency is to do away with education as a frill or as "loaded with dynamite." A. F. of L. unions are failing to support the Bureau, though it is subservient to them. In more senses than one, the Bureau is not only consenting to its own death, but so far as it has the power, helping to strangle the workers' education movement under trade union auspices.

6. *The W.E.B. is more concerned to have a university label than a union label on workers' education.* The W. E. B. is pursuing the policy of merging workers' education enterprises wherever possible with the extension departments of colleges and universities. We do not fail to recognize the value of the extension work of the colleges and universities in its place, nor the eminent service to the cause of workers' education rendered by many individual teachers and colleges in academic institutions throughout the land. The fact remains, however, that colleges and universities were



## PEP IN EDUCATION



A forceful illustration of the kind of education sponsored by the National Council of Labor Colleges in England and favored by American labor progressives.

never intended to carry on workers' education specifically and are not fitted to do so. The chief aim of workers' education must be to equip the workers to carry on the daily struggles of the labor movement against company unions, the open shop, the yellow dog contract, labor spies, injunctions; for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work, increased control over industry, as well as for intelligent exercise of the ballot and of their power as consumers. Surely, such education must be under the control of the workers. It is positively dangerous to hand it over to the colleges and universities. After all, they are mainly controlled by boards of trustees composed of big business men and lawyers sympathetic to big business. Many college and university teachers have recently been convicted by the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of accepting thousands of dollars from the power trust. To make workers' education a tail to the kite of such institutions is surely doing no service to labor. If it is important to have socks with a union label on our feet, it is at least equally important to get education with a union label on it into our heads.

7. The W. E. B. thus supports the National Civic Federation tendency in the labor movement, the tendency to Company-Unionize the movement. It approves of the sentiment that "cultural subjects" such as public speaking, economics, psychology, literature can best be taught workers in the regular colleges and universities. The company union employer says that

he will give workers company sports—baseball, football, picnics, dances, etc. Healthy elements in the labor movement say this is an attempt to tie the worker to the boss's interest and rob him of his independence. The National Civic Federation and National Civic Federation laborites encourage sports under such auspices and give no real support to the development of sports under labor auspices. If company unions can use sports, insurance, all sorts of welfare work to defeat unions and kill the spirit of unionism, can it not equally use the teaching of public speaking, economics, psychology and literature in schools where the general atmosphere is one of "getting ahead," individual advancement, instead of the labor atmosphere of solidarity and trade or class advancement, for the same evil purpose? What could be more fatal than to hand over the minds of labor youth to the company unionists? The thing is part of the whole business of making labor respectable, merging it completely with other groups, rubbing away anything distinctive about it, robbing it of its enthusiasm, its pride, its militancy, its confidence that it can and must build a better world for itself. There are, alas, misguided and superficial souls who think this makes for peace and harmony in the community!

## Turn to Progressives!

Let the Workers Education Bureau repudiate these tendencies. Let it take for its starting point in the future the ringing pronouncement in the opening sentence of the preamble to the Constitution of the A. F. of L. "A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling masses if they are not combined for their mutual protection and benefit." Let the W. E. B. turn its back on reactionaries and give its hand to the progressive elements in the labor movement which alone have any genuine interest in education and are prepared to toil and sacrifice for it. Let it turn its face less to the universities and more to the unions. Let it get out of convention halls and into the homes and meeting places of the workers, the textile workers, the railroaders, the building tradesmen, steel and automobile workers, organized and unorganized. Let them help to equip these workers for the struggle against company unionism, the open shop, the yellow dog contract, the struggle for a world free from exploitation and under the control of the workers. Then it may yet serve the sacred cause of workers' education—education of the workers, for the workers, by the workers. Otherwise, it will have signed its own death warrant.

Not, however, the death of workers' education. For as surely as there are wage earners there will be unions; as surely as there are toilers, there will be a labor movement; and as surely as there is a labor movement, facing the complex problems of modern industry, facing the mighty foes of big business, militarism and imperialism, there will be workers' education.

# After Eight Years

## A Review of Workers Education

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

*The writer of this article can speak with authority on the beginnings of the workers' education movement in this country. He was not only the organizer of the Workers Education Bureau, but acted as its first secretary-treasurer, and was largely responsible for calling the first conference on Workers' Education in 1921, as a result of which the present Bureau was created.*

AT this critical period in workers' education it is important to give some consideration to the historical background of the movement. Only through this earlier perspective can we evaluate the present tendencies and prognosticate the future possibilities. Let us therefore examine the aims and purposes of the early pioneers of this movement.

The late and lamented Arthur Gleason, one of the best exponents of the early aspirations of the workers' education movement in this country, clearly distinguished workers' education as "its own kind of adult education, and not to be confused with university extension, evening high schools, night schools, public lectures and forums, Chautauquas, Americanization, education by employers and Y. M. C. A. and industrial courses." "Labor education," declared Mr. Gleason, "is inside the labor movement, and cannot be imposed from above or from without. It is a training in the science of reconstruction. It is a means to the liberation of the working class, individually and collectively. In pursuing that aim, it uses all aids that will enrich the life of the group and of the workers in the group, and will win allegiance of the worker to the group."

These aims and purposes were not confined to the intellectuals outside of the labor movement. They were the motivating forces of the labor leaders most actively identified with this movement from its very inception. At the last conference of the Workers Education Bureau in Boston, James H. Maurer redefined these. He stated: "Underlying the purpose of workers' education is the desire for a better social order. It is this desire on the part of the workingman for a richer and fuller life individually and collectively which gave the movement its birth and at all times must remain its treasured inheritance. Labor education aims at the ultimate liberation of the working masses."

"The Workers Education Bureau was not organized for the purpose of duplicating the work done by the public schools, universities, correspondence schools, etc. It is distinctly not to be confused with the numerous existing forms for adult education. The latter are designed for the most part, either to give a bit of culture to the student, or else to lift him out of his

present job into a higher one. That is not the purpose of workers' education. It is education that will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general, and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement."

### A Unifying Force

Fannia Cohn, who has been identified with the movement for many years, and who has given so much of herself to it, declared recently that workers' education must have a distinctive character to serve the labor movement and progress as a whole, to act as a unifying force bringing together the workers of our whole continent. Workers' education must have a central ideology.

"Such an ideology," declared Miss Cohn, "would include a number of things—the workers' desire for power to enable them to function as an organized group on the economic, political, social and intellectual fields; the workers' desire for a voice in the management of industry, since the conduct of industry affects not only the industrialists, but the workers in the industry and the public as a whole. It would include, too, the desire of the workers that our vast natural resources be placed at the disposal of our entire population. It would almost certainly include the feeling that they should have a voice in shaping our international policy, since it affects the lives and happiness of hundreds of millions of men, women and children."

Dr. E. C. Lindeman, who is perhaps somewhat detached from the actual working class also agreed that "if it is truly workers' education, it also seeks to change the social order. Workers' education may be conceived as the germ of a new people's movement. Its function is to inject a new principle, a new method, and a new spirit into the age-long struggle for justice."

The above definitions are clear and unmistakable. Workers' education, to be worthy of the name, must serve a distinct social function. This is even more valid and essential today than ten years ago. In view of this it is, I think, entirely proper and propitious to examine the extent to which these principles still apply to the present official movement for workers' education and the degree to which it has imbued the labor movement, which it was to serve, with a broader understanding.

Now, of course, I am fully aware that no movement as significant and as vitalizing as workers' education can be adequately appraised after a period of but 8 or 9 years. Its meaning and significance can hardly become crystallized in such a short period. Its actual accomplishments may not mature for many years. I am not unmindful of these facts. However, since the official movement for workers' education in the United



States has during the past eight years taken definite shape and followed identical and consistent processes, we may be permitted a brief examination or appraisal of its accomplishments and an evaluation of its tendencies and future possibilities. This is especially important now, since the break with Brookwood indicates a parting of the ways. What are some of the facts?

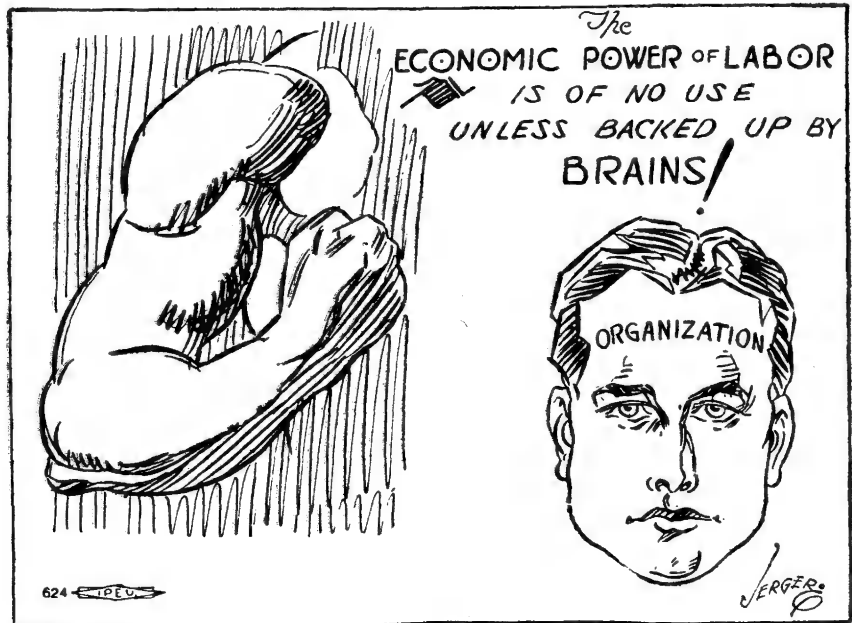
### Early Enthusiasm

In the Spring of 1920 when the first conference on workers' education was held, there was no organized national movement guiding and directing the scattered workers' educational experiments throughout the country. There were altogether less than one hundred educational classes of all sorts. Their method and programs were as varied as the organizations which sponsored them. There was confusion both in content and policy. But underlying all of them there was a definite and concrete purpose which inspired and fused them all into one aspiration. Whether they were sponsored by trade unions, socialist, communist or independent intellectuals each and every one had aimed at an educational process which would guide and inspire the labor movement to greater heights, profounder vision and ultimately toward the liberation of the working masses from their present social and economic positions. There was an unmistakable ideology pervading them. It was the cherished hope of expanding and consolidating these aims and ideals which made possible that remarkable gathering in the Spring of 1921. Within less than two months from the issuing of the call and without any funds whatsoever, about 200 men and women journeyed to New York City from many states in the Union in order to help launch a more consolidated and invigorating movement of workers' education.

While I am not fully cognizant of the recent developments in the Workers Education Bureau, I note from its reports that under its guidance educational committees have been instituted in practically all of the states; that numerous local education committees have been appointed by the various central labor unions; that, thanks to the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation, a W. E. B. Press has been incorporated; that the budget of the Bureau amounts to approximately \$35,000 a year and that membership dues are paid by about half of the international unions, by most State Federations of Labor and a great many local unions. This is quite a formidable achievement.

This steady growth and development warrants us to take stock of the meaning and significance of this expansion. While eight years may not be a sufficient period upon which to base definite conclusions, eight years of aimless drift is by far too long a time. Such

## IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION



*Locomotive Engineers' Journal*  
Brains and intelligence count. They are needed to get the movement out of its present rut.

an examination is imperative to the very existence of the movement. In the final analysis, the efficacy of a certain method is best revealed in the profit and loss column. If the balance is in red, the stock holders know that regardless of the wonderful theories of the manager or superintendent the methods were obviously unprofitable. Let us then very briefly look at the balance sheet of this great corporation, the American labor movement, after eight years of loyal and humble W. E. B. service.

### Lessened Vitality

In 1920-21 when the Workers Education Bureau was initiated the American labor movement was at its peak; its membership was the highest on record; it had a prestige hitherto never attained and its growing power made it the terror of the forces of darkness. The Workers' Education movement was established in order to give it increased power and more intelligent guidance. But parallel with the growth of the W. E. B., and despite our increasing population and our industrialization, the membership of the A. F. of L. has declined to one of the lowest records in the past two decades. In 1928, it had a total membership officially of considerably less than 3,000,000. But of even greater significance than the decline in the membership is the vanishing leadership, the diminishing vitality and the almost total absence of any profound philosophy capable to meet present day emergencies—the very contributions workers' education was to make.

Indeed, one of the most startling revelations in this stocktaking is that side by side with the obvious spread and growth of labor education, both labor statesmanship and vision have been conspicuous by their total absence. Not only has American labor lost its power

and prestige; not only has its leadership dwindled to the lowest level, not only have company unions spread to an extent never dreamt of before, but never before has the American labor movement faced its fate with more equanimity, with less resistance and with such utter complacency than today. Even as sympathetic a student as Mr. Lindeman was forced to remark. "In fact, candor compels one to hesitate to speak of a workers' education and a labor movement in this country since a movement is presumed to move."

### The Workers' Insecurity

During the past eight years American industrialism let hardly a month slip by without the proclamation of some new theory and some new discovery of the blessings and virtues of capitalism. During the same time American labor, when it did not go backwards, has either stood still or has drifted from one untenable position to another. At its best it has merely tried to imitate American industrial leadership along certain lines of business and financial activities. In the maze of new theories enunciated by representatives of American industry, one can not detect a single contribution which was originated by American labor. Industry in the United States has expanded beyond all expectations in the past decade; production has increased so enormously that thousands of workers are being displaced from their jobs by the increasing productivity of machinery. The insecurity of the American worker today is greater than that of any other industrial worker in the world. Has any constructive suggestion of meeting these most important problems been proposed by American labor?

It took industrial captains such as Brookings and Henry Ford, to discover the theory that increased purchasing power on the part of the workers makes for greater and more steady prosperity. And American labor leaders have been religiously advocating it ever since. It took Henry Ford to prove to American labor the advisability and practicability of the five-day week. There is the growing problem of unemployment in the United States. It took Governor Smith and the Democratic Party to make this a national issue. While the farmers and even the representatives of big business are now challenging the Coolidge-Hoover-Mellon prosperity myth, the official American labor movement has so far voiced little protest against the workers' share of the prosperity goose. American labor is now the only organized group which still takes our "prosperity" for granted although the National Industrial Conference Board recently characterized this as an "illusion" created by "political and financial propaganda." To capitalize this "prosperity," some of our outstanding American labor leaders are devoting their energies to selling the workers "death" insurance and to organize and reorganize labor banks. The entire problem of social insurance and the insecurity of the American wage-earner against the hazards of modern industry, is left to slumber peacefully. Even as the nation is awakening to these problems, the official American labor movement is being charged by such eminent men as Professor John Dewey and others of taking its cue

not from the workers' educational movement but from the National Civic Federation. Oh, yes, American labor has been busy fighting labor injunctions for the past quarter of a century. But the number of them has grown by leaps and bounds.

Indeed, in the whole realm of recent theories and industrial philosophies not one new thought is discernible on the part of American labor. All it aspires to now is to the National Civic Federation's ideal of cooperation between the workers and employers. Instead of militancy or eternal vigilance, it seeks everlasting harmony, profound peace and collaboration. All efforts are being exerted to convince the employer that it is to his benefit to recognize the labor union because it will pay him to do so. Through this cooperation productivity will be increased, conflict eliminated and prosperity will prevail. In return some of the new labor leadership offers to see to it that the Mellon "prosperity" and happiness shall remain unmolested by the malcontents of whatever degree of color they may be.

In the entire field of workers' education there is only one bright star, only one speck in the desolate firmament which has made a real dent in the present state of apathy and indifference—Brookwood. Brookwood, the Alma Mater of Jack Lever, Israel Mufson, William Ross, Charles Reed—the leaders of the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Salem Labor Colleges and the prides of the W. E. B.—and of Alfred Hoffman of the Piedmont Organizing Council whose work has been featured by the A. F. of L. Executive Council as the outstanding organizing campaign of the year. Only this school has lived up to the true aim of workers' education; it has sought a redefinition of values and a newer and more intelligent understanding of the present-day problems confronting America Labor. It has feared neither the abandoning of old and worn out dogmas nor the discarding of unwise and ineffective brands, regardless of up-to-dateness of the model.

It has sought guidance and understanding of the fundamental problems which have arisen in the past decade. The very success of its graduates, repeatedly acknowledged by the A. F. of L. leaders, is a clear illustration of what real workers' education could have meant. By producing Mufson, Ross, Reed, Hoffman and other active workers like them, Brookwood has shown the real significance and purposes of workers' education. What a pity, therefore, that regardless of all these, Brookwood's fate should have been sealed when some student last May dared to express his admiration of and affection for Samuel Gompers by draping his picture in red along side of Marx, Debs, Lenin and the martyred Rosa Luxemburg!

We regret to have to omit Louis Stanley's eleventh article in the "Research for Workers" series because of lack of space. Laws and the Courts will be discussed by this writer in the April issue.

# Workers Education In Britain

## Can It Teach Us Any Lessons?

By MARK STARR

**T**HE PLEBS" — perhaps the nearest thing in British periodicals to the LABOR AGE — has just celebrated its twentieth birthday in a jovial mood. For twenty years it has without a break championed *independent* workers education and a review of that development may provoke fruitful comparisons for workers education in the United States at the present crisis. When the workers say to the capitalists "We will not think at your command," as De Man affirmed, they are certainly making the most fundamental and far-reaching challenge in any country.

The two main bodies in Britain pushing workers education are the Workers' Education Association (founded 1903) and the National Council of Labor Colleges (1921) and according to the most recent reports their class students have grown as follows:

	1922-3	1926-7	1927-8
W. E. A. ....	22,748	30,730	35,730
N. C. L. C. ....	11,993	31,635	27,147*

The split dates from 1908 when students at the residential Ruskin College felt they were being sand-papery and that the college might become a mere minor part of the orthodox and ancient Oxford University. The rebel students formed the Plebs League, started the "Plebs" magazine, founded what is now the Labor College (London) and began the local classes and colleges which were later federated together in the N. C. L. C. Summarily stated the difference between the two bodies are as follows:

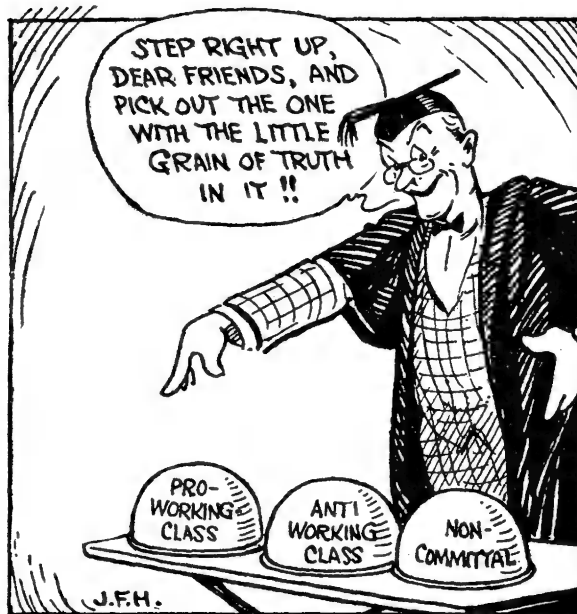
(1) The W. E. A. believes that education must be impartial and that students should choose any subject they wish. The N. C. L. C. asserts that even in the unavoidable selection of facts, when studying economics and social history a bias consciously or unconsciously comes into play. Further it specializes in social science because its confessed purpose is to make the workers more competent members of their labor organizations.

\*The fall is asserted to be a result of larger term classes and the general hard times prevailing.

(2) Another point of difference is the source of its teachers. The W. E. A. believes in an extension of university education (which is in effect ruling-class education) and it uses for the most part teachers with orthodox academic degrees. The N. C. L. C. provides its own teachers by its own training centers and classes, although it does not refuse the co-operation of university men with the right point of view.

(3) For about four-fifths of its finance the W.E.A. and its classes depend upon the State through the Board of Education. On the contrary, the N. C. L. C. is run solely by trade union support because 32 trade unions with a membership of over 2 millions have now education schemes based on a per capita tax varying from 6 to 12 cents per annum. For this the union members receive free attendance at classes and at day and week-end schools, free correspondence courses and branch lectures when required. These facilities are used; in the year 1927-8 there were 2,385 students in the correspondence course department and 1,018 branch lectures given.\*

### A PLEBS CARTOON



The Plebs believes in purposeful workers' education.

A library for the use of students and a lantern department with sets of slides and films for still pictures are maintained. "The Plebs" with a circulation of 6,000 furnishes student-workers and teachers with lesson material on current happenings and during the last ten years about 200,000 special textbooks have been published and sold.

As Brother Marchbanks emphasized in his fraternal delegate's speech at New Orleans convention, a complete view of the labor movement in Britain must include those small bunches of student workers meeting weekly to obtain that light and leading which will aid them to free themselves.

The immediate problems of the N. C. L. C. are to secure the support of more unions, to find the cash to issue needed textbooks, and to provide more efficient service of voluntary tutors.

\*For details of subjects taught, books published, etc., see the recently issued "Education for Emancipation," N.C.L.C., 5 cents.



## ENTER LABOR'S NEWS

With the appearance of the first issue of Labor's News February 26, Federated Press again scores in service to the American Labor movement.

Labor's News is a new departure in labor journalism, described as "the news magazine of the Labor movement." No stranger, it is an expansion of the unassuming but competent Federated Press Weekly Labor Letter, written and edited by the same staff which has established FP's dominant position in the field of American labor news. In form it is an 8-page tabloid newspaper, 11 by 14 inches, with an unusual type make-up.

Each week, Labor's News announces, it will give its readers the industrial, economic, and political facts written up from a labor angle. No editorial matter and few signed articles of opinion will be carried, for the editors believe there is no lack of magazines of opinion. News of the Labor movement itself will be presented without editorial color, for Labor's News adheres to the traditional FP policy of non-partisanship within the Labor movement.

This is a big job. So far as is known, nothing like a labor news magazine has ever been seen in this country before. Yet the idea is sound. Every worker, organized or unorganized, needs to know what labor is doing in his country and in the world. Every man or woman active in the Labor movement, every student doing labor re-

search, and every friend of labor, has felt a need for this kind of a paper—though many have never formulated that need.

And Labor's News, if one may judge by its first issue, is handling it very well. Leland Olds interprets technological changes in industry, speedup, financial trends.

Laurence Todd knows the tricky mazes of the nation's capital. He writes briskly for Labor's News of the shifty two-timing of old-line politicians, of legislative and judicial offensives against workers by elected representatives of capital, and of labor's own counter-offensive strategy. He also writes of the gossip from headquarters of the A. F. of L. and a score of international unions.

Art Shields and Esther Lowell, who have spent the past year covering the new South with an old Dodge, a typewriter, and a camera, are there in Labor's News with human-interest tales of Babbitt-progress, workers' squalid lives, and dawning unionism.

Just as important as these outstanding features is the solid factual meat of dozens of stories from the industrial firing line of the working class—from mines, shops, factories, mills, from picket lines and lockout zones and small-town police stations, from local courts and state legislative halls and labor temples.

A magazine which can handle such a job deserves the support of the Labor movement.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the success of independent workers' education in Britain:

### Tied Up with Progressives

(1) *That education must be intimately connected with progressive elements in the organized labor movement.* We have had our hard-boiled ones who swear by the beards of the Trinity, Marx-Engels-Dietzgen, and who wait for the times to ripen so that the workers will come and ask these "God's prompters" for the plan of revolution. There is the academic danger in workers' as in other education. But workers' education in its inception in Britain was born in a period of industrial unrest and when the Labor Party had progressed from the lobbies onto the floor of the House of Commons to defend labor directly. The early leaders of workers' education were also prominent in the drive towards organization by industry which marked the pre-war period. In later years the N. C. L. C. and its literature pushes its way into trade union locals and maintains its active connection with the forward looking men on the job. (Like Brookwood, the N. C. L. C. has to face communist attack for being in favor of "class collaboration," and "petit bourgeois deviations," and at the same time is suspected of being communist by many trade union officials.)

(2) *That education must have an aim.* There is a great deal of bunk current which suggests that teachers should not teach and that both or more sides must be presented for the students' judgment. Mental gymnastics, however, is not education. The open mind may be the empty mind. Of course, there are dangers of dogmatism, particularly in workers' education where

an early education has been scanty. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing. Half understood new truths and general propositions are heady and distorting or they may be put on like a ready-made suit. But in capitalist society one side of the question of social science has already been presented by school, newspaper, radio, etc., and workers' education has to provide an antidote. Teach students to think by all means, but thought must have a content and education a purpose. Workers' education which did not give an abhorrence as well as an understanding of racketeering and scabs would have missed the mark.

(3) *That an independent education movement meets a real need of the workers and that it can be built up despite misunderstanding and opposition of trade union officials.* It means a vast amount of work and sacrifice. Voluntary work built up the N. C. L. C. (The editorial work, the articles of "The Plebs," and the writing of text books are all unpaid. The total paid organizing staff and lecturers responsible for the figures above number only 15 and the General Secretary and office staff would not carry the total far beyond twenty.) One by one the trade unions are being convinced of the necessity of providing an educational benefit for their members.

"What shape," asked Henry Adams, President of the American Historical Association, "can be given to any science of society that will not shake to its foundation some prodigious interest?" The workers, however, cannot accept his conclusion that "silence is best," for they face social problems and urgently needed an insight into social engineering. That is where "education for a new social order" has its great part to play.

# Conferences—What For?

## *Seeds That Fail To Sprout*

By THEODORE N. BRAINARD

THE mass meeting has come back to us! For about three years the workers' education movement, due to the initiative and ingenuity of those behind the Labor College of Philadelphia, has been experimenting with a mechanism in mass education that is probably not yet recognized as an old friend in a new form. But there can be no mistaking the signs. The week-end conferences the Labor College of Philadelphia inaugurated and which have been emulated in a few other centers, notably in Baltimore, are nothing more than mass meetings of the 1927-29 model. No wonder that such conferences immediately received the praise and attention of the official labor and workers' education movements. Unconsciously, perhaps, the mass meeting was immediately recognized in these newer settings.

The mass meeting, because of the movies, radios and Fords, has been outdistanced as an instrument of mass education and mass rally. There is a dissipation of interest today which diverts the workers from their problems in all manner of ways. To counteract such pulling power new technique have to be devised with greater lures and higher and deeper colorings. The conference fills the bill. Talk with Mufson of Philadelphia and Ross of Baltimore for a few minutes about these conferences and the language of the showmen will be quite evident. They will frankly admit they are putting on a show.

In the first place labor is taken out of its old, musty environment, where it is accustomed to congregate, with its begrimed walls and dusty illuminations, and transplanted into an airy, clean and well lighted atmosphere. If the conferences aren't held on the campus of some College or University, they are at least conducted in the most modern and best equipped labor building in the city. The changed environment alone betokens a holiday to the workers. These conferences, secondly, are usually extended over a period of two days, with a dinner almost always sandwiched in between. The pulling power of a dinner cannot be emphasized too strongly. If all the other sessions fail to attract labor's attention, the dinner invariably will. Then the speakers who appear on the program are an element of mystery to the average labor folk. Where in the history of organized labor have college profs descended from their academic seclusion to ascend the rostrum of a workers' meeting? When has labor been given an opportunity to thus rub shoulders with higher learning? Nowhere but at these week-end conferences. And finally, due to the fact that these conferences are generally open to the public labor is convinced of their worth-whileness.

Yet in spite of this careful set up the average attendance at these shows is remarkable for its meager-

ness. A check up at any one of the really good conferences held at Philadelphia and at Baltimore will show that of the three to five hundred present, the majority are outsiders, the public, who have come to learn labor's attitude but labor generally is disinterested.

### Good Publicity

Now suppose we forget attendance for the moment and turn to the results of these ventures. In the first place there is one positive good that must be accredited to these conferences. They do manage to break out into the news columns and thus present to the public the aims and achievements of the organized labor movement. And today, when the value of friendly public opinion is not to be gainsaid, that is no mean feat. On the other hand, when we turn to results within the labor movement itself, they are not so favorable.

No movement can thrive isolated for any long period of time without feeling the effects of the withering blight of disinterest around it. While a few conferences in Philadelphia and Baltimore may stimulate labor, or that portion of labor which attends them, no lasting effect can be looked for unless such stimulation becomes a part of the labor movement as a whole. So after a time, as month follows month and year follows year and conferences come and go without anything happening either in one particular locality or the nation as a whole, interest begins to lag and after the talk everything is forgotten. But, had there been a really effective workers' education movement, energetically extending this technique to the country as a whole, and so keeping the entire labor movement in a ferment of activity and of thought, more definite results from these conferences would no doubt have materialized. The Workers Education Bureau, after the first conference held in Philadelphia in 1927, was so enthused by the prospects of such newer methods, that it mapped out for itself a plan of conference organization which extended up and down this country in either direction. But within eight months, after several feeble attempts had been instituted in Boston, Passaic and one or two other places, decided to call it a full life's work and laid down to rest. It satisfied its conscience by urging such procedures at A. F. of L. conventions.

Then, due to the limitation of subject matter, because of official restrictions on things to be discussed, the conference technique cannot develop its usefulness to the fullest extent. If these conferences are to find approval in official eyes they must leave all questions of labor problems out of consideration and only dwell on those subjects which conform with the official A. F. of L. policy. For example, conferences on injunctions,

unemployment, the five-day week, cooperative relationship with management, are all good topics which will find favor in labor's eyes, but should discussion on any one of these lead to industrial unionism, independent political action, unemployment insurance by the State, need for social change or militant organization methods, the whole effort becomes taboo. Thus, when at the latest conference held at Philadelphia on the general subject of "New Relationships Between Labor and Capital," the Mitten-Mahon agreement was adversely criticized as one of these new relations, it is rumored the whole workers' education movement was placed in jeopardy because of it. Despite the fact that a good union man, coming from a good A. F. of L. union, J. M. Budish, did the criticizing in accordance with good trade union doctrine; despite the fact that the agreement gives everything to the boss and nothing to the union; despite the fact that the last vestige of democracy would be eliminated by the process established by the agreement; despite the fact that the men under its terms would be forced to set the company union up as an example for them to follow; despite the fact that the union would be recognized only as long as it would maintain a company union efficiency; and despite the fact that this agreement is presented by its sponsors as establishing a new era in industrial relations with the hope that all of organized labor would soon follow suit, the conference, for having the temerity to discuss this agreement under a general subject which certainly could do nothing else but include it, has been challenged as a menace to workers' education and the labor movement.

### Fear of Discussion

With such limitations and inhibitions, these conferences, because they must have official approval if they are to function at all, soon deteriorate into assemblies of back slappers, giving the labor folk only those truths that are predigested and approved. The Baltimore Labor College held a conference on the problem of the Railroad Industry. Regardless of the fact that the speakers were all carefully chosen for their regularity, no open discussion was permitted from the floor for fear some one in the audience would ask a question or make a statement that would prove embarrassing.

These alone are sufficient facts to mitigate whatever effectiveness the conference may develop as an instrument for workers' education of practical value to labor. But the handicaps are even more serious. After all, while Mufson and Ross may be interested in just putting on a good show, and calling it a day, we in the labor movement, who look to workers' education as a means for labor's advancement, can't be satisfied with the show itself. What is the conference doing for those workers who attend it and for the labor movement of which they are a part? This question is already partly answered by the preceding observations. Because these conferences are not nationally widespread and the Workers Education Bureau is ineffective in the extension; because the conferences which are held are not permitted to come to grips with the real problems confronting the workers, their results are in the main innocuous. But even when in spite of these tremendous odds, something of value does trickle forth, neither the workers

nor the labor movement are in a position to take advantage of them.

### Lack of Response

The labor movement is sick. Every one admits it, so this statement is not so startling. Young people fight shy of it and old people become somnambulant in it. If a new idea is projected into a union meeting there is consternation! The label is our religion and the craft our church. Services are held every week or twice a month and formulas, that need no conscious effort for expression—they have been rehearsed through so many years—are repeated with the same religious fervor a pious Mohammedan shows towards his Koran. The officiating high priests are jealous of their positions and their traditions and look with rightful suspicion upon any innovations within their spheres of influence. Now out of this environment go forth delegates to conferences to seek the new word and the new freedom. They hear something of interest and make note of it. The more wide awake and youthful in the course of these two-day sessions do begin to comprehend some of the ideas presented. *They* are stimulated. *They* want to do big things. *They* desire to arouse their somnabulant brothers. *They* are *mighty* in their determinations.

A week or so later these delegates, the chosen few who did bring out of the conference something of what was going on, go back to church. Their enthusiasm has already waned during the intervening period. The somberness of their surroundings dampens their ardor still more. Before they are called upon to report the conference, if and when that happens, there has been the usual chanting of formulas. Their spirits are lower still and they make their report in an almost shamefaced manner. Their heat is hollow. Somehow, what they thought soul inspiring at the conference seems so uninteresting and out of harmony at their meeting. They report. They sit down. The next order of business. Not a stir, not a rustle. A stone fell into the quiet pool and after a splash and a ripple, all is smooth once again. As far as the labor movement is concerned these conferences are a "million miles from nowhere."

I have often wondered what spring of enthusiasm well up in the souls of Mufson and Ross **when** they can go on year after year putting over their **ballyhoo** with such energy and grit. Perhaps they cannot see the results of their handiwork as it comes to us in the midst of the union meetings. Perhaps they are hoping that somewhere something will find root and grow. Not a chance, not a chance.

Yes, the mass meeting has come back to us. The conference is the show which could be made to draw the workers as the movies and radios and Fords are drawing them today. But what for? We go to movies to see new pictures. We listen to radios to hear new songs. We go in Fords to get over new territory. But why go to conferences? We know how to repeat the old formulas; we know all about the union label. We know all about our craft. And the young people fight shy of the movement and the old people are asleep in it.



# Stock Stings Hosiery Workers

## Black Eye for "Employee-Ownership"

By HAROLD Z. BROWN

**A** MINIATURE Stewart-Rockefeller proxy war is raging in Paterson, N. J., where worker-stockholders at the open-shop Atlantic Silk Hosiery Mills are seeking to oust Henry M. Luckstadt



HAROLD Z. BROWN

and Felix Sandusky, joint managers, from control. Not a dollar in dividends, say the workers, has been paid on their stock during the six or seven years the company has been in business, while wages, hours, and working conditions in the Atlantic are inferior to those in union shops.

Mismanagement is blamed by the knitter-stockholders. Stung once, they vow that many a day will pass before they again buy an employer's stock. Their shares, acquired under an employee

stock-ownership scheme, are supposed to guarantee them a job and a fair return on their investment.

titled them, preferring to seek employment elsewhere rather than work under the bad conditions there. The total holdings of these 11 workers are no shoe-string proposition, but are so substantial as to enable them to dispute control of the company with the present management. A few weeks ago they held a majority of the shares voted at a stockholders' meeting, but their ouster proceedings against the managers were checked when Luckstadt and Sandusky managed to round up a few additional shares then in the market, and voted themselves back into control.

### Ask Union's Aid

Recently the stung stockholders came for aid and advice to Carl Holderman, Business Representative of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers' N. J. and N. Y. District Council, with headquarters in Paterson. The story they brought secured them hearty assurance that the union would back up their fight to the fullest extent of its ability.

They told of a wage scale in the Atlantic shop 7% below the union's of a 9½-hour work-day instead of the union's 8¾-hour day. In addition, they said, hours of work at the Atlantic are irregular,—for instance, noon-hour work is common. The shop's production per machine is abnormally low, due to the management's policy of employing a high proportion of more or less inefficient apprentices—because they can be obtained at low wages. The burden of making up for this low average production is passed on to the skilled stockholder-workers in the form of a production task which every knitter is required to "make." This task is set so high that it requires frequent overtime work, for which only the regular wage scale is paid.

Only constant resistance by Atlantic's worker-stockholders has prevented the Luckstadt-Sandusky management from introducing the two-machine system in the shop. This system—an aggravated form of speed-up—requires each knitter to "double up,"—that is, care for two knitting machines with the aid of an unskilled helper, instead of running one machine by himself, as is the rule in union hosiery mills now. It was for refusing to work two machines that the Allen-A workers of Kenosha, Wisconsin, were locked out over a year ago.

### Stock A Joke

The Atlantic case is another convincing proof of the failure of employee stock-ownership schemes to protect either the worker's savings or his interests on the job. It again shows that only a strong union can maintain fair wages, decent hours, and protect workers against discrimination and exploitation.

Stock ownership did the Atlantic workers no good

Two others—union men—bring the total of Atlantic worker-stockholders to 11. These last two refused the Atlantic jobs to which their stock-ownership en-

Of the 14 knitters at the Atlantic, nine are stockholders. Only one of these stockholders is a union man. The other eight, former members of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, dropped their union membership some years back, after receiving nicely engraved stock certificates and listening to the boss explain that they had become real owners of industry. Yes, they were assured, they were capitalists now, and as such had nothing in common with unions or mere wage-workers.

### Stabilized Capitalism?

It all sounded wonderful then, but just at present the eight one-time unionists are in a critical and reflective mood—that mood known to all employers of labor as "the wrong attitude." Because as stockholders they oppose the management, one of them has just been fired and another threatened with dismissal. The eye-pleasing stock certificates have proved non-negotiable at the corner grocery. Some of the erstwhile capitalists would like mightily well to get back into the union.

Two others—union men—bring the total of Atlantic worker-stockholders to 11. These last two refused the Atlantic jobs to which their stock-ownership en-

# RIDICULING EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP



J. R. Williams, comic artist, whose work is syndicated by the N. E. A., serving 935 newspapers, shows what a joke "stuck" ownership is. Good work!

whatever; it only exposed them to exploitation as workers and as investors. As workers stock-ownership has kept these men from organizing a 100% union shop and so obtaining union hours and wages. As investors it has deprived them of the use of their savings for seven years, in order to furnish their bosses with free capital.

Organizer Carl Holderman of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers comments that the Atlantic shop is not at all exceptional. "What holds good there," says he, "holds good in other cases which have been brought forcibly to the union's attention. Investments in the 'Golden Rule' Hosiery Mills of Providence, R. I., cost some of our veteran knitters their lifetime savings. Only less disheartening was the experience of several young strikers against the two-machine system at the 'Noe-Egul' mill in Reading, Pa., last fall.

"These workers were induced by a promoter to buy stock in a newly-organized hosiery mill, where they

were promised jobs as soon as their strike was settled. When they had paid for their stock and turned up to start work they found that 'their own' company required them to run two machines—the same scab conditions against which they had been striking at the 'Noe-Egul.' They refused the jobs, of course, but their money is tied up for an indefinite period."

## Peace Dove Sickly

Meanwhile the harmony and friendly relations between capital and labor which open shoppers tell us is fostered by employee stock-ownership has received a black eye at the Atlantic. The whole force is on edge, and an entire lack of confidence in the management exists. The men who put their money into the corporation now agree with the union that workers have little to gain through employee stock-ownership, and urge knitters to examine all such schemes with an incredulous eye.

# Progressives Accept Challenge

## Prepare To Go Forward

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE Challenge to Progressives," published in the February issue of LABOR AGE, has met with a varied, interesting and encouraging reception. In these days of labor indifference especially is the volume of response awakened a comparatively large and noteworthy one. Nor was this response limited to any one particular locality; it was in a measure, nation-wide.

The issue of LABOR AGE containing "The Challenge" proved a good seller at bookstores regularly handling LABOR AGE. The Rand Book store, New York City, for instance, sold 50 copies. The Philadelphia Conference on Employee-Employer Cooperation bought out the entire supply on hand, also 50 copies, in a few minutes, and then asked for more. This indicates real interest.

"The Challenge to Progressives" was otherwise in demand. Requests for reprints came from a variety of points in Pennsylvania such as Philadelphia, Reading, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Pennsburg and Kleinfeller, with Philadelphia leading in number. Greencastle, Ind., Ann Arbor, Mich.; Newport News, Va.; Orange, N. J.; Brooklyn and Bronx, N. Y.; Woodside, L. I.; Phoenix, Arizona, Aberdeen and Seattle, Wash.; San Francisco, California and Chicago, Ill., were also represented among the cities whence came requests for the reprint. A friendly organization mailed 800 copies to its many ramifications throughout the country. And an organizer in Mid-west distributed 1,000 copies in cities in that section. All things considered, this was good distribution.

The letters discussing "The Challenge" also came from many cities throughout the country. They include Buffalo, Cudahy, Wis., Los Angeles, Detroit, Denver and other points in Colorado; Seattle, Wash., New York, Philadelphia, Salem, Mass., Warren, R. I., Baltimore, Paterson, Washington, D. C., New Haven, Cleveland and Fort Wayne.

The press took notice of "The Challenge," too. Among the newspapers were the *New York Times* and *The World*. *The Day*, a Jewish New York daily, also non-labor, discussed it in a favorable tone, thanks to a needle trades union ex-editor in charge of discussion. Among labor publications, the *Volkszeitung*, German New York Daily, published generous installments, with favorable editorial discussion and interviews with officials prominent in progressive, German metropolitan labor organizations. *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* New York Jewish weekly, also discussed "The Challenge." So did the *New Leader*, *Reading Labor Advocate*, *Montana Labor News*, *Philadelphia Trade Union News*, *Nebraska Craftsman* and *Buffalo Echo*, Catholic organ, *Industrial Solidarity* (all weeklies), *Paving Cutters' Journal*, *Lithographers' Journal* and *Solidaritat* (monthly magazines,) either print generous install-

ments with favorable comments, or the document in full. Of course, the *Daily Worker*, communist, New York and *Labor Unity*, Wm Z. Foster's Magazine took notice of "The Challenge" only to condemn it. Another ruthless critic was *Industrial Worker*, I. W. W. organ, Seattle, Wash.

Having thus summarized the situation regarding the reception accorded "The Challenge," it might now be well to go into details. These will necessary have to be brief, for a complete record of all the letters, editorials, clipping, mazines and papers received would fill a volume, many times the size of LABOR AGE. We'll reverse the procedure above and begin at the end, with the redoubtable "Bill" Foster. Under the caption "The 'New' Progressives," Foster says:

### Communists Oppose Progressives

"During recent weeks much has been heard about the development of a new 'progressive' group in the A. F. of L. apparently headed by Muste of the Brokwood Labor College, and supported by many elements such as Budenz, Hapgood, Thomas, etc., gathered around the New Leader and the Labor Age. They come forth with a program in which they propose to fight the 'Communists' (by which they mean all of the left wing forces supporting the militant class struggle policies of the T. U. E. L.) and for certain reforms in the A. F. of L. Why does this group develop in this period and what will be its role? . . . Clearly their role is to intensify the fight against growing influence of the adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions in the United States. As a secondary question they will fight against the OPEN reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and for greater democracy in the unions. This however is the means by which they hope to create illusions among the workers and hold them inside the A. F. of L. in support of its general social reformist and social imperialist policies. Their ONLY difference with the bureaucracy is on how to most effectively serve the capitalist class in the United States and fight the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement.

"It is the task of the T. U. E. L. on the basis of its militant program to fight energetically, to expose the anti-working class character of both the old bureaucracy and the new 'progressives'—especially the latter because of their ability to cover up their objectively reactionary policies with seemingly progressive phrases."

In the *Daily Worker* of Feb. 21, Foster boils all of the above down to this:

"The so-called 'Labor Age' Muste group of 'progressives' like the 'Left' social democrats in Europe, will simply act as a phrase-mongering cover-up movement for this organized system of betrayal."

This "scientific Leninistic" analysis is welcome, though laughable. It leaves no doubt that Muste, ex-



communicated by A. F. of L. officialdom as communist, is no friend of "communism." Instead he is a phrase-mongering cover-up man of "this organized system of betrayal," personified by this same excommunicating A. F. of L. officialdom. Ha, Jack Dalton, beg pardon, A. J. Muste! You are discovered at last.

As for the seven year's aggressive, independent service to the workers of LABOR AGE, climaxed by its "Challenge to Progressives," what is such testimony of incorruptibility?

And now here is an expression of the Progressive viewpoint that will serve as an answer to friend "Bill." It's by John C. Kennedy, Educational Director, Seattle Labor College, who says:

### Progressivism and Bureaucracy

"The Challenge to Progressives" undoubtedly expresses the sentiments of thousands of active workers in and out of the Labor movement all over the country. It has become increasingly apparent to me that we could not rally our forces around the banner of the Communist Party, because of its dogmatic spirit, autocratic form of organization and inability to comprehend the psychology of the American worker. It has become equally clear that the bureaucracy at the head of the American Federation of Labor was becoming so thoroughly capitalistic in its outlook that it could not possibly lead the workers in the struggle to build a militant movement sufficiently strong to cope with American capitalism. So I agree that the hope lies in the direction outlined in *The Challenge*."

Next comes *The Industrial Worker*. According to it the progressives are not progressives, but dishonest politicians and impossibilists. Its double-column full-length editorial concludes:

"You cannot 'bore within' the obsolete craft unions. Industrial unionism must build itself out of the material at hand. It cannot be made to order by a group of intellectuals and politicians, however wise in their own self-sufficiency. . . . The capitalist class have developed new forms of integrated organization and have developed power through that fact. The workers are being thrust into the proletarian masses because of that development. The old craft forms of organization and populist political parties have crumbled because they are obsolete. They will build anew when the resultant class-consciousness develops into class organization. There is to be no rejuvenation of old institutions. There is the building of a new and its beginning is already here—industrial unionism."

As that beginning—industrial unionism—is in the Progressive program, why this disparagement? The progressives also know all about capitalist integration. As for "boring from within" view, that's contrary to the I. W. W. policy of recognizing "two card men"—I. W. W. and craft unionists in one—and of taking note, not of theoretical differences, primarily; but the necessity for solidarity, as evidenced at Lawrence, Mass. and elsewhere. On this basis, why spurn solidarity with progressives? Are they not of "the material at hand?" Do they not represent an evolution born of capitalist development since the war? If not,

how do you account for their recognition of that evolution and their attempts to conform to it?

\* \* \*

Now then having given our opponents the floor, let's hear from our friend, Edmund Seidel, Socialist ex-State Senator, New York. He remarks, laconically, "A plague on all your talk! Get into the unions and demonstrate, if you can, that you can do a better job of the unions' work than the 'reactionary' leaders."

After that Jim Maurer, 16 years President of progressive, growing Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and old-age pension victor; A. J. Muste, dean of the most successful labor college venture in the country and textile strike leader, organizer and negotiator; Louis Budenz, editor of LABOR AGE and hero of Kenosha, and all the other progressive rank and filers, editors of successful labor journals, organizers, etc. backing "The Challenge," ought to curl up and blow away. It's a devastating, wintry blast.

### Delighted!

Our outspoken friends, however, talk differently. Says Jack Anderson, Washington, D. C. militant member of the International Association of Machinists:

"I have read and re-read 'The Challenge.' It is a great document, and will, I am sure, arouse activity."

Frank Palmer, author, Denver Colorado, declares:

"I am in enthusiastic sympathy with the program of 'Labor Age', both as a publication and in the new 'Challenge' platform. I think that movement is the thing that is going to save the situation out here and probably in the East."

Aaron Allen Heist, Denver, Colorado, also writes:

"There are a considerable number of progressives here in Colorado, who will join whole-heartedly in your movement. Write me freely as to the ways in which our Denver group may cooperate with you."

A West Haven, Conn. machinist sends this:

"Regarding the copy of the editorial statement I will read it at our next meeting and let you know how it takes."

S. Fisher, active clothing unionist, New York, gives it as his opinion that:

"'The Challenge to Progressives' in the last issue of the 'Labor Age' is a document to which all progressives and sincere trade unionists can rally.

"This is a program which militants and progressives were seeking for the last few years.

"Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and 'work, work,' 'organize the unorganized,' 'educate, educate,' and the job will be done."

Laurence Todd, Federated Press, Washington, D. C. says among other things:

"Your Challenge to Progressives reads well. But I do not think you will hear from more than a faint response. The progressives have lost their urge to act. For two years past, the machinists' executives have said to me 'Let your "reds" go in and organize the automobile work-

## LABOR AGE

ers if they can! Let them organize all the unorganized in the factories and shops. We can't stop them, so we won't be to blame if they fail to get results; their failures will show how much there is in their complaints that we don't try to organize the unorganized."

A friend mails this information from Buffalo:

"I find several here who have read the February 'Labor Age' and all think it is great. It is proclaimed the best number of 'Labor Age' ever seen. I passed out a number of copies of 'The Challenge' at a meeting here last night. I note that 'Echo,' a Catholic weekly here has a reference to it! I am enclosing clipping of same."

Roger Baldwin, civil liberties champion, New York, favors us, with his usual good humor, as follows:

"Speaking as an innocent, but interested bystander, I regard your challenge to progressives in the Labor movement as the right stuff.

"Whether it is the right time is another matter. I do not yet see enough widespread discontent with A. F. of L. 'leadership' to give to the movement a real boost. But even if it aroused only the old crowd, it is worth while beginning. The way to begin is to begin, with a small determined bunch, skillful leadership, a clear plan and a little money.

"Then those of us like myself on the sidelines can perhaps find a place in the fight—or at least we can cheer you on."

A miner at Frederick, Col. imparts the following:

"I note in various labor periodicals that your 'Labor Age' challenges the progressives of the American Labor movement. The facts are not elaborated upon so it leaves me in the dark. Nevertheless, there is no question but what a mass movement of class conscious workers should be inaugurated. The bankruptcy of the A. F. of L. and the radicalization of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are factors that point to the dire need of such a movement."

Secretary Joseph H. Kucher, International Labor Alliance, sends a letter announcing that:

"At our last meeting on February 1st, the editorial statement entitled 'The Challenge to Progressives' in the February issue was one of the topics discussed.

"The undersigned has been instructed, by motion, to inform you that we are, in the main, in accord with the general principles and aims as set forth in your statement, and to assure you of our cooperation in any steps that hold promise of materializing them in whole or in part.

"We would be pleased to have representatives of your group attend our next meeting and present more in detail any phases of your proposals that may not have been elaborated in your Editorial Statement. We will inform you of the time and place of such meeting. We request to be kept in touch with developments."

## Practical Suggestions

J. G. Brown, Seattle Wash., has the following to offer:

"I liked your statement, very properly called a 'chal-

## ONWARD TO VICTORY



Adapted from cover page of *The American Teacher*

lenge,' and agree entirely with it, but think its practical value is lessened by its length. If some, strong unions in the basic industries could be built up, the new material thus brought into the movement could be readily educated to the acceptance of your program. Too much static in most of the existing unions to enable it to be put across.

"The program for organizing the unorganized should be simple. Several million postage-stamp size stickers having printed on them the words 'Join the Union' should be printed and stuck up all over the district where a campaign is in progress. Questions even mildly controversial should be kept in the background till the new unions were established. These campaigns should be mass affairs at the outset and the energy of all progressives concentrated on the one objective till it was attained.

"In this section an effort is soon to be made to get such a campaign in motion with the primary object of getting the lumber workers organized. Incidentally all trades will increase their membership.

"It is my notion that this means approaching first problem first. Moreover, this seems to me the key problem. It was in the steel campaign. So far as organizing was concerned it was a great success, had it not been for the withdrawal of the most vital organization at the most critical time, am sure there would now be powerful unions in the steel industry, unions that could put real vitality into the splendid program of which you sent me a copy.

"I hope I can do something for the 'Labor Age' during the year. It has the best outlook of any publication I know of."

And now for the best champions of progressivism, the labor press!

The *Nebraska Craftsman*, Lincoln, Nebraska, prints the following editorial:

In 'Labor Age,' the National Monthly, for February, will appear an article which should be of particular interest to

every member of a labor union in this country. Its purpose is to arouse a nation-wide discussion of the American Labor movement in the hope that from out of this discussion some constructive action may be evolved which shall again make of the Labor movement a truly constructive and progressive organization, with an ultimate goal as well as an immediate program which shall inspire men and women in the ranks to renewed activity.

We shall publish this article in full in "The Craftsman" and hope that our readers will be aroused to discuss it in these columns. Every well wisher of humanity must realize that a grave necessity confronts progressivism in these United States, and that any sound constructive political action must in the final analysis rest upon a strong organized Labor movement. It is a sad commentary on labor unionism in our country that it has within its ranks a smaller percentage of industrial workers than any other industrial nation in the world. While on the other hand company 'unions' are on the increase and at the same time our courts are extending their power to cripple and render abortive every effort on the part of organized labor to better the condition of its members.

What is needed more than anything else at this time is a militant labor progressivism which shall assert an influence in public as well as in industrial affairs that will make for the common good. Instead of talking about the necessity of our country building a navy which shall be on a parity with that of England, would it not be better to build a Labor movement that shall be on a parity with that of England, where all classes today are admitting that in the national election which takes place this spring, organized labor is the most important and powerful factor. This should be at once a challenge and an inspiration to workers in America. Let's discuss the situation, arrive at some definite conclusions, and then go ahead."

### Progressivism Stirs

The *New Leader* gives space to Norman Thomas, who in his "Timely Topics" of February 2nd, notes that "Labor Progressivism Stirs" and tells of the statement in February LABOR AGE to prove it. He urges his fellow members of the Socialist party, to get behind this statement, "which ought to be made the basis of wholesome discussion and effective action in all labor groups all over the country."

The editor of *The Reading (Pa) Labor Advocate* comments as follows:

"The suggestion that the American Labor movement has lost its spiritual and moral force as well as some of its membership has been made by 'Labor Age,' one of the nation's foremost workingclass publications. The only thing new about such a statement is that it is now being made by an organization which has some standing with organized workers. The man on the street has repeatedly touched the same idea in different language. American unionism has been called a 'job trust' by thousands of ordinary workers and the leaders of our Labor movement have, in some instances, justified the contention of rank and file workers that they are self-seeking careerists who care nothing about the welfare of the working class. The American Federation of Labor, by accepting and advocat-

ing a policy of co-operation between the exploiter and the exploited has, it seems to me, placed the stamp of approval upon wage slavery as long as it is conducted properly. And by 'conducted properly' they seem to mean: 'Give us who are organized a little more than is required to live and we don't care how much you rob the majority of workers who are unorganized.'"

### 61,000 Workers Interested

*Solidaritat*, monthly organ, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, with 61,000 members in 344 branches in 27 states and District of Columbia, says, concluding an article entitled "A Way to Unite? 'Labor Age' Will Show You How," and setting forth the 16 points of "The Challenge":

"We call this program progressive in the best sense. Doubtless it will be so acknowledged by all; and since it does not force recognition but lends itself to criticism and discussion, it is a very practical proposition, a good beginning. It can help the Labor movement to attain its most necessary unity of action against capitalism. One way is pointed out. About this *Solidaritat* will have more to say. The program should also serve as a theme for discussion in our branches. If this is done a good deal will have been accomplished."

*Volkszeitung*, organ New York, German trade unionists, reviews "The Challenge" and urges its consideration, saying:

"'Labor Age' is one of the very few progressive publications of the A. F. of L. and which, as is self-evident, is not published by the A. F. of L. but by far-sighted members of the A. F. of L. . . . Like many others seriously interested in the advance of the Labor movement 'Labor Age' has also given thought as to how to effect an improvement. And they—'Labor Age' publication society—succeeded only in drawing up a program which, while in fact there is nothing new in it, nevertheless, by coordinating all progressive demands, could form a working basis for a program of action, upon which all progressive class conscious elements of the American Labor movement may readily unite. These demands contain nothing radical in them; nothing that will keep any one who understands the class character of the Labor movement and its mission for cooperating. And this, as we see it, is the greatest advantage of the various articles of the program."

This review of the reception accorded "The Challenge to Progressives" proves that quite a number of them have accepted it. It now remains to go forward. Through correspondence and conferences, we plan to discover the practical possibilities of putting this program into effect, and ask all those who are ready to cooperate to send their names and addresses to LABOR AGE.

In conclusion, we give our thanks to all who have written to us, especially to the workers in Northern New York, Wisconsin, Colorado and California who have written upon non-unionized industries and the proper way to approach them psychologically; all of which, though not quoted above, will prove invaluable at the proper time.



# High-Tariff Illusions

## *Climbing on the Republican Band Wagon*

By JOHN NICHOLS

**T**HE swinishness of our manufacturing interests is disgustingly evidenced, as one well-known periodical puts it, in the hearing on the tariff now going on before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington. Everybody from the manufacturer of safety pins up or down is out to get a higher tariff on goods imported from abroad. It is not the first time in American history that this has happened, but probably never before has the spectacle been so huge and so much like hogs swilling in a trough as this time.

Indeed, the exhibition is so crude that dyed-in-the-wool Republicans and sky-limit tariff advocates like Nicky Longworth, Reed and Smoot are getting sensitive about it, and telling the newspaper boys that there really isn't going to be a general upward revision, only a charge here and there, especially where the dear farmer needs a boost!

There is one very important new feature about this gorgeous scramble for swill being staged just before Herbie Hoover begins his presidential engineering. In the past labor has in the main been low-tariff. It has ridiculed the Republican bunk about the tariff protecting the dear workingman's dinner pail.

Today Joseph Grundy, the union-busting Republican boss of Pennsylvania, who is in Washington getting back for himself and his clients, with interest, the \$600,000 he raised for the Republican campaign chest, finds organized labor, including many prominent A. F. of L. leaders, lined up with him and joining in the chorus: "Give us a higher protective tariff." No effective opposition is coming from labor!

Here, as in so many other instances, Matthew Woll is prominent and active. He is chairman of America's Wage Earners' Protective Conference. One of his henchmen, another National Civic Federation boy, Mike Flynn, is the executive secretary.

### **Woll at Tariff Hearing**

It will interest our readers to know how the whole business looks to one of the great newspapers of this country. The Baltimore Sun in its issue, says that "it remained for the representative of union labor to out-herod Herod with sweeping demands against foreign importations." It is referring to Matthew Woll's appearance before the Ways and Means Committee and goes on to say: "Mr. Woll described the terrible effect on the workers in the printing trades which the importation of books produced and he appeared to have a particular antagonism to children's books and bibles." A Democratic member of the committee, Mr. Rainey of Illinois, asked Mr. Woll, "Could we not get along without taxing bibles?" Mr. Woll replied: "There is no reason why we should not tax bibles. Other religious works are taxed."

Then Mr. Rainey replied: "How about the consumer's bible?" Mr. Woll snapped back: "I am not interested in the matter of the price to the consumer."

The case for a protective tariff sounds very simple and plausible as the Republican friends of the full dinner pail put it, and workers have often fallen for it, though not organized labor in the past. You put on a tariff and prevent cheap goods from coming into the country, and that means that American mills which pay high wages must be kept open to make these goods. What could be plainer?

There are some points on the other side, however, for Mr. Unionist and his good wife to ponder before he lets his leaders haul him into the Republican tariff band wagon—points also plain enough for ordinary mortals to understand provided they are not Republicans or professors.

### **Dubious Benefits**

For example, put a tariff on cotton goods and textile workers who make them may get—may get, remember—higher wages. But the boss will take advantage of the tariff protection to raise his price. So in the upshot a few workers get more money in the pay envelope, but all users of cotton goods pay more out of their pay envelopes to buy them! What advantage is there in that?

Again, put a tariff on a class of goods, raise the price, and then may be people will not buy as much as they would at a lower price. In other words, demand falls off and that means idle factories and unemployment. You get more wages and less work. Unemployment is chronic in some of our highly-protected industries. What protection is that to the workers?

But, alas the tariff doesn't even assure you of high wages when you do work. Take the textile industry as an example. It has had tariff protection as long and on as extensive a scale as any industry in this country. What is the result? Do we have in textiles an industry characterized by moderate profits, progressive management, high wages, low prices, steady operation? Any one who is at all acquainted with the industry knows that exactly the opposite is the case. It has been characterized throughout its entire history in this country by high profits, unprogressive management, low wages, high prices and extreme fluctuations in employment. Such a condition is what any economist would expect in an industry where artificial protection, a soft cushion to fall back upon, whenever real initiative, energy and thought are required, is provided. The point will bear emphasis. Not only have manufacturers often earned outrageously high profits behind the tariff wall, but what is far more significant, in the long run they have taken advantage of this artificial protection and have become lazy, and inefficient, have

## THE HOGGISH ASSAULT

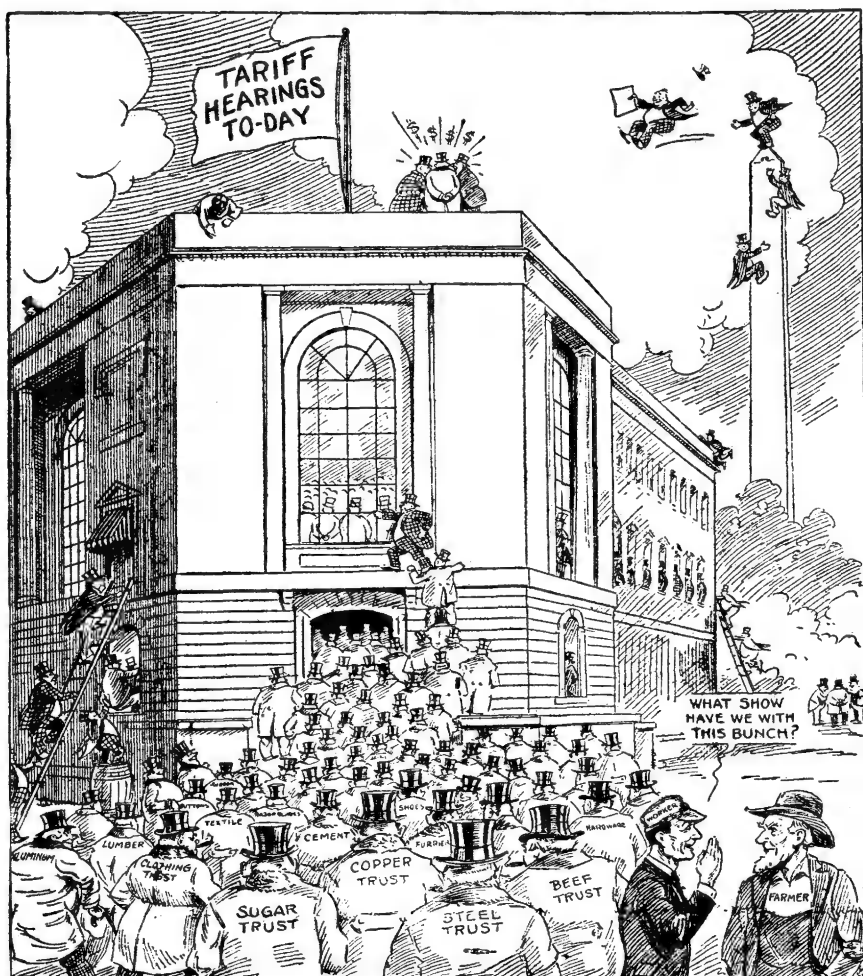
failed to adopt new machinery when called for and to scrap old machinery, to press energetically for the development of their markets, to follow out the desires and needs of the public to adopt their styles to the requirements of the situation, to organize their business efficiency in every department, with the result that the whole industry degenerates. As likely as not, there is then a cry for still more artificial protection. It is like adding oil to a fire in the hope of quenching it.

We may take note of a few additional considerations. The reason given for imposing a tariff is to keep out goods produced by workers who have a lower standard of living. Variation in the standard of living is at the bottom of the trouble. But what is the effective permanent remedy for such a condition? Surely not to raise impassible barriers between different groups of workers and so to keep up the difference in their standards. The policy indicated for labor would seem to be to cooperate on as wide a scale as possible with labor in other countries so that all alike may be raised to a common high standard of wages, hours and conditions. Then there will be no low wage workers to compete with what we produce, but instead well-to-do customers to buy what we make. The only permanent remedy is along these lines. Making bad because poverty-stricken customers out of European or Asiatics will not keep American factories going.

### Foreign Relations

Americans should give special consideration at this time to the bearing of this problem upon our relations with foreign countries. Our Allies in the Great War owe us over 10 billion dollars in debts. They can and will pay us only as Germany pays them. Hence the problem of German reparations. Under the Dawes plan, Germany has been paying certain specific amounts in reparations to the Allies, and the Allies have been turning over payments on their debts to us out of this money. As a permanent proposition Germany can get money with which to pay reparations only by selling more goods abroad than she imports. Other countries, however, including America, have kept up tariff walls to "protect" their industries, and so Germany has not been able to export as much as she needs to do in order to get a favorable balance of trade out of which

to pay reparations. How then has she managed to make any reparation payments? The answer is that she has borrowed from the United States the money which she has paid to England, France, Belgium and Italy and which they in turn have paid over to us! This process, of course, cannot continue indefinitely and both Germany and the allied nations are now agreed that there must be some revision of the Dawes plan. Without going into further details, it is sufficient to point out that we have here a complicated and delicate international situation, and that if any section of labor clamors for a high tariff and so furnishes a pretext to high tariff advocates to raise the tariff all along the line, this might prevent Germany and other European countries from getting on their feet, might retard the recovery of world trade and so injure us also, or else will lead to intense competition between America and European countries for world markets, and, it is quite possible, to international misunderstandings, and to war, with all the misery which that would involve



As Baer in "Labor" shows, the producers and consumers haven't a chance at this Republican orgy. To make matters worse, their voices are not raised in protest, and many labor leaders have joined in the scramble for a higher tariff.

for the workers. In order to save the finger, we should not fall into an error which will mean the cutting off of a hand.

Speaking of the dependence of workers in all lands on each other, it is important to bear in mind that if the idea of raising an effective barrier against competition from workers with lower standards was even sound under simpler economic conditions, in the present state of economic development, that idea is becoming more and more absurd. In many cases, the manufacturer now has plants in several countries. Or the jobber or distributor on whom the manufacturer depends deals impartially in native and foreign goods. Or the bankers on whom both the former depend have investments everywhere. The market for which most workers produce has become a world market. More and more it is as if all workers throughout the world were employed in a single great establishment. It does not make any difference to those who control industry whether they make their money in one country or another, out of one set of workers or another. When they play off workers in one country against those in another, it is, under modern conditions, like playing off one group of workers in a particular factory against another group in the same factory who are perhaps not so well paid. Those who control the situation today do frequently so play off workers against one another by hocus-pocus of various sorts, including the conventional tariff propaganda. How can workers in a particular shop meet such a problem? Obviously, only by uniting in a union which will help to raise the level of all alike, and will prevent the playing off of one group against the other. How else can workers in various countries meet the same fundamental problem?

### Patriotic Mr. Mellon

In this connection, it is especially interesting to make note of an argument for the tariff on aluminum, given by the Secretary of the Treasury Mellon some months ago. It is known that the aluminum trust with which Mr. Mellon is connected, has factories in a good many other countries besides the United States. Mr. Mellon argued that the tariff on aluminum goods coming into this country enabled them to charge a relatively high price for aluminum, here, and only so were they able to pay an American wage to the workers in the American factories of the corporation. If, he said, the tariff were taken off, then the company would be compelled to manufacture all of its products outside the United States, and so throw a considerable number of American workers out of work. See what this involves: In exchange for a slightly higher wage to a few thousand workers, the aluminum trust jacks up the price of aluminum for all American consumers behind the protection of the tariff wall. It is careful not to carry its patriotism so far as to give those same American workers a chance to produce for the world market. All that work, it does not scruple to turn over to workers in foreign countries.

Finally, it is interesting to note the change that has taken place in the argument of tariff advocates in this country. In the early days Alexander Hamilton's con-

tention was that American workers received high wages and that American manufacturers in infant industries in particular should be given the benefit of a high tariff in order to be able to compete with European manufacturers who could employ workers at lower wages. The fact of a high wage level in America was accepted as the starting point of the argument and as the reason why a tariff should be established to protect the manufacturer. Since the Civil War the argument has been turned squarely around and we are now told that it is necessary to have a high tariff, not so much in order to protect the capitalist, but in order to create and maintain a high wage level in America for the workers. The high wage level is not now a reason for the tariff, but the tariff is set forth as the reason why we have a high wage level.

### Tariff Barriers

We may question whether the earlier tariff advocates were not more honest in their way of putting the argument; whether, in fact, we cannot find abundant reason for a relatively high American standard of living quite apart from the tariff—in our abundant material resources, for example, our inventions and discoveries, our highly perfected system of business organization, the high level of energy and intelligence of our people and so on? This reflection leads directly to another important consideration. Before the adoption of the Constitution, each of the thirteen colonies was an independent sovereign state. There were customs and tariffs barriers between these various states. Goods taken from New York to Connecticut or vice versa paid customs and tariff duties. One of the important reasons for adopting the Constitution and establishing a federal government was that these tariff barriers between the states might be wiped out. Economists will all agree that one of the fundamental reasons for American prosperity is that we now have here a great population of over 110 million people, covering an immense and varied territory, all of which constitutes a single market free from tariff barriers. Large scale production and distribution, convenience of transportation, economies of all kinds, are possible in such an immense market. Whatever may be the effect of tariffs against goods from other countries, American prosperity is unquestionably due to a large extent to the fact that America itself represents an immense area and population where tariff barriers are absolutely unknown.

We may well ask, if the leveling of tariff walls between the States of the Union worked so effectively, why not try it on a larger scale and wipe out tariff between nations?

Nevertheless, the scramble for a higher tariff goes on in Washington, labor climbs on the Republican tariff band wagon, and at still another point the alliance between Labor and Republicanism, Big Business, Militarism and Imperialism is cemented. *That unholy alliance between the so-called leaders of Labor and the Open-Shop, Company Union, Profit-Grabbing Enemies of Labor Must Be Broken.*

# Kenosha Workers Go To a New School

## Educating Themselves Out of Big Hosiery Battle

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

ONE fine day a few years ago Maceo Kueny a young man employed as a footer by the Allen-A Company, found himself in an argument with John H. Brine, vice-president of that concern. The discussion was about wages or conditions or something of that sort. In the course of the debate, Brine blurted out:

"I can get ten thousand men to take your job, if I want to take the time to train them."

That put an idea in Kueny's head. He was one of the best workers in the mill and one of the most intelligent. The idea came as an inevitable corollary of the Brine remark. It ran something like this: "If this concern will threaten to put me out because of a mere discussion over conditions, what will they do if a show-down ever comes? As an individual I am helpless. It is up to me to protect myself by joining the union."

Thus, without any "outside agitation" but merely through the company itself, a convert to unionism was made, then and there. At that time the union was largely a name inside the Allen-A mill. It was composed of a few men brought in from Ft. Wayne. There was no initiative or drive back of it. Those who joined did so in the main in order to get the opportunity to transfer to union shops later, where better conditions prevailed.

Kueny took an active part in giving life to this inert organization. Other Kenoshans joined with him in the task. A conspicuous one among these was Erich Tillman, another footer, who was later to be responsible for the unionization of the girl toppers. Both of them kept in touch with Harold E. Steele, mid-Western representative of the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, and spread the gospel of unionism through the mill.

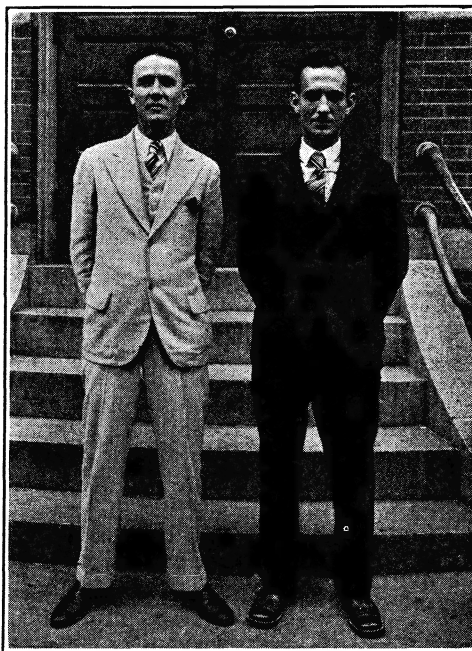
Step by step they learned more of the meaning of industrial autocracy, as practiced at the Allen-A. To match their spirit, it can be said that at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti murder, they thought seriously of a half-day walkout of protest—although largely not in sympathy with the views of the two condemned men. The mill was not then in shape for such an attempt, upon what seemed to be such a vague mission.

### "Yellow Dog" Starts Trouble

In the same summer—of 1927—other news reached them which was of much more immediate concern. Through the voluntary proffer of Jacob Nosivitsky, international labor spy, I had learned, off in New York, that "Yellow Dog" MacDonald was attempting to stir up the Allen-A Company against its own men. Of course, to this slimy detective trouble at the Allen-A meant shekels in his own pocket. He lives, like the vulture, off the dead bodies and dead hopes of self-respecting working-men and workingwomen. The company got all those who secured new employment in the full fashioned department to sign contracts binding them to the company. It was incited to these steps not only by MacDonald but by his anti-union employers, the Berkshire Knitting Mills and the Apex Hosiery Company. A criminal conspiracy was set on foot, to smash the union in the mill and to establish the slave-driving "2-machine system."

The news, relayed by me to the General Office of the Hosiery Workers and sent on by them to Kueny, spurred the boys to further organization activities. The union grew by leaps and bounds, as an answer to the company's tactics. Information was given the Allen-A officials regularly on the progress of the organization by one Lynne F. Clark, who later on confessed to having been a labor spy and who acted as a "scab" when the lock-

### YOUTHFUL LEADERS



Maceo Kueny and Erich Tillman

out came.

In November, the boys learned that the "2-machine system" would be introduced by the company and the union attacked. The news went like wildfire through the mill, though some continued to refuse to believe it. In early February, 1928, the rumor became a fact. The company locked out the workers on February 15th and the battle was on.

These events are recited here because they give a clue to what followed. The company had thought the whole business would be easy pickings. Kenosha has been a community dominated by the Nash Automobile Company, and allied anti-union interests. The secretary of the local Manufacturers' Association has been a regular representative in the State legislature and is now in the State Senate. Labor spies abound, par-



## KENOSHA'S CELEBRATION

*Four hundred automobiles paraded in spite of ice and snow on the streets of Kenosha on February 16. The parade marked the celebration of one year of lockout. It was one feature of that celebration which included a mammoth dance and display of Union-made hosiery by living models. Negotiations have again been broken off, the story of which will be given in our next issue.*

ticularly under control of the Nash Company. Fear was the predominant sentiment in Industrial Kenosha, and politically the city—for the same reasons—had been one of the backbones of the Stalwarts as against the LaFollette Progressives. (For the first time in its history, in fact, Kenosha went for the Progressive Beck in the 1928 primaries against the Manufacturers' Association candidate Kohler. Of course, this availed nothing in the state outcome; but it was a significant development of the lockout situation.)

The company's program was perfectly clear. Forty per cent of the workers, it figured, would return immediately. The rest would be intimidated by the injunction—and MacDonald would help out in fixing it up so that the injunction would be "effective." In these well-laid plans it went far afield of what actually took place. MacDonald was driven out of town by our expose of his putrid record. The injunction failed utterly as a strikebreaking weapon. Through these trials and attacks, on the other hand, the workers learned the lesson of unity and loyalty. They saw that this was a great battle for freedom, and that appealed to them more than a struggle over immediate hours and wages would have done.

### One-Sided Justice

That was the beginning of the "New School," as the workers call it which has been set up in Kenosha. Out of their practical experiences, they have acquired more knowledge in a few months than they could have secured in a lifetime at a knitting machine. They have come to understand the value of Life in terms of freedom. They have got to know more of their industry, through explanations given them in the numerous talks at strike meetings. They have become acquainted with the Law, and thoroughly understand how unjust it is to Labor. Several have begun to take up a study of Labor Law, in order to know more of it in the future.

That they might be equipped to tell their story through the country, in the great "Arbitration Crusade" which they launched, they took up public speaking.

Strikers directed these classes. Strikers arranged the schedule. Strikers got out the publicity for local newspapers, connected with the appearance of the speakers in any particular town. Boys and girls, who had a short time before, hesitated to say a word in public, surprised everyone by their oratorical abilities. These had all been dormant, awaiting development.

### Effective Speakers

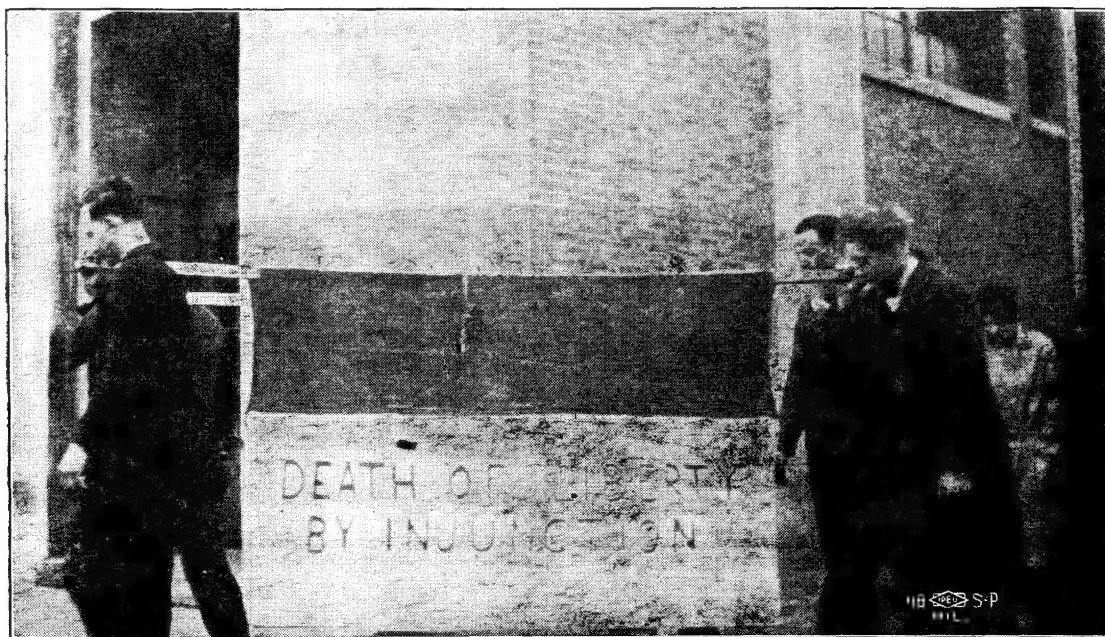
At the present moment young men speakers are in 14 states, addressing labor unions, women's clubs and other like organizations. They are cordially received everywhere. Their clean-cut appearance and gentlemanly manner make a big appeal, wherever they appear. The girls go out for special engagements, and are equally successful in getting the story across and in impressing their audiences. At Wisconsin Rapids, both men and girls spoke to a meeting of over 1,000 people. At Decatur, Ill., 1,400 people jammed the public high school to hear men and girl speakers, likewise. They have penetrated as far South as Texas and Oklahoma, as far West as Nebraska and the Dakotas, as far East as Ohio and Pennsylvania—and are still "on the march." Before this year is half over, they expect to have covered every State in the Union. The Allen-A lockout will not soon be forgotten.

These speakers go into a city, for a meeting prepared in advance. They see the local newspapers and get interviews. Often they appear on the coveted front page. Then, after addressing the central body, they cover the various local unions and address women's organizations in the afternoons or at luncheon. In addition to their meetings, they have distributed through the city the account of the "History Making Allen-A Lockout," which has been prepared for that special purpose. Thousands of letters pour into the company, demanding arbitration and decent relationships with union men. Thousands of orders have also been cancelled, as a result of aroused public opinion. That is not the object of this campaign, however, as they specifically tell merchants that they are not engaging in the boycott. What they are attempting to do is to appeal to the consciences of the Allen-A officials, through the accumulation of public protests all over the land!

The public speakers now number some 40 in all. Some of them are held in reserve, and about 20 are on the road steadily. The speaking idea was not foisted on them. It grew out of their own desire to spread the truths that they felt would be self-evident to others, could the message only be gotten out through the country. The enthusiasm which had been planted in them led them to want to do all for the idea for which they were fighting. In that brief fact is summed up all that the principles of adult education are aiming at today—not to cram things down the throats of folks but to let them want to get the things which they should get. Effective workers' education, above all, can only be carried out in that pragmatic way.

But now comes along a new development. In speaking on the Allen-A dispute, and in becoming acquainted at first hand with the various local labor movements, the lockedout workers find that they should know more

## A SPECTACULAR "FUNERAL"



One of the processions in the picturesque battle at Kenosha which dramatized the injustice of Judge Geiger's injunction.

about the history of the Movement. No one suggested this to them. They asked for such information themselves. And so Mary Beard's book was secured, as a beginning. And so other books have been secured. And so it was decided that 15 minutes of every strike meeting should be given to a short discussion of the history of the Labor Movement, to be followed by articles written by the workers on that subject. It is now proposed that something be learned, also, of the economic history of America. Thus, out of one endeavor and the study that goes with it, there arise other efforts and other studies.

### Thousands of Leaflets

More than that: The strikers felt the necessity of sending out their message also in printed form. They established their own office force, composed solely of strikers. One of their number was appointed office manager, and another assistant office manager. From five thousand to ten thousand pieces of literature a week roll out of the office, carried out with a degree of efficiency that astonished General Secretary William Smith of the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, when he was in Kenosha. In all of these enterprises, Kueny and Tillman have given their energy, hovering in the background or pushing to the front as occasion demanded. They have taken these things up pragmatically, just as they learned out of their experience the value of unionism itself.

Some of the lectures at strike meetings have had to

be revised during the past few weeks, because of the absence of Yours Truly from Kenosha. This was due to the request of powerful friends of the Allen-A Company, who entered into negotiations with the union. The condition of such negotiations was that "Louis Francis Budenz be out of the situation." This was a rare compliment, as it showed that the work of maintaining enthusiasm during these twelve months has not been in vain. It followed to a T the program we have advocated in these pages for years: that the strike leader and organizer should conduct his work so effectively that he should become obnoxious to the anti-union corporation. Then, let the negotiator step in and do the job of arranging the necessary truce. In this instance, the negotiator, Gustave Geiges, President of the Hosiery Workers, comes into the situation with much prestige back of him. He is one of the leading technical experts in the industry, in addition to being president of the national union. What will come of these negotiations remains a mystery at this time. But it is significant that they took place, in this thirteenth month of the fight.

Here we have had a crude sketch of the "New School" in Kenosha. It has been much more thoroughly educational than if it had been conducted by a host of P. D.'s and P. D. Q.'s and other titled gentlemen. It has arisen out of the heart of the big scrap, and this has given it verve and interest. It will be remembered when much more formal "learning" will be forgotten.

# Flashes from the Labor World

## New York Electricians Ignore Injunction

Twelve thousand union electricians can't be forced to work Saturdays, even if a judge orders them to. Two New York judges learned this, to their astonishment, when Electrical Workers' Local 3 calmly ignored an injunction banning the 5-day week. The first judge, flabbergasted when the 12,000 failed to show up Saturday morning for work, decided that perhaps he shouldn't hale them all into court on contempt charges. And the second judge decided that perhaps, for this time at least, it would be just as well to recognize the fact that the union didn't recognize the injunction, and so he tossed it into the waste basket as a useless document.

Local 3 signed a 5-day week contract with the Electrical Contractors' Assn., which provided for pay of \$13.20 a day instead of \$12 so the weekly wage would remain \$66. The Building Trades Employers' Assn., swearing stoutly through Walter Gordon Merritt, their open shop attorney, that the agreement violated a contract between the Electrical Contractors' Assn. and the bigger bosses' outfit to negotiate together with all the unions, flew to the courts for an injunction. Union officials failed to learn of the injunction, largely because process servers were unable to get into the union's building. For once, ignorance was bliss! Attorney Merritt incidentally is the League for Industrial Rights, which maintains that every American worker, God bless him! has the individual right to work for as little money as an employer wishes to pay him. Unions, he insists, deprive workers of their precious right to bargain as individuals with their bosses. When Merritt argued for a permanent injunction to keep the 5½ day in effect, the higher court decided that after all, a group of employers and workers have a right to sign a contract if they want to.

\* \* \*

How bad was joblessness in the winter just passing? None will ever know, save the jobless themselves. The

United States, with China, Albania, Afghanistan and the Island of Yap, has no registration of the unemployed, no way to estimate the number without work. But from Philadelphia, Buffalo, New York, Boston, and other industrial centers came proof positive of destitution. In Philadelphia hunger pinched so hard in the homes of the unemployed that the city fathers, suddenly panic-stricken, voted

unemployed, against 10,000 for recent winters. In Boston unions petitioned the mayor to distribute snow work and overtime work among those in the long bread lines. In New York, the Bowery mission and flophouses were crowded. Many a man there had stories to tell of improved machinery, of speedup, throwing him on the street.

\* \* \*

Union workers showed they are serious about old age pensions when they flock to the New York conference called by the American Assn. for Old Age Security. There they mingled with social workers, humanitarians and politicians to work out a campaign to place pension protection around the aged workers of N. Y. State. Altho' dissatisfied because the bill does not do justice by miles, they agreed to back a measure for pensions to the destitute over 70. But union painters, bakers, restaurant workers, piano makers, electricians, contended that 65 should be the age limit and that pensions are the right of every worker who has contributed a lifetime of labor to society.

\* \* \*

Mittenism, widely attacked by labor educators, now must defend itself against the Philadelphia Building Trades Council. These unions have appealed to the Central Labor Union to ask Pres. Green of the A. F. of L. to name a committee to investigate the company union policies of the transit king of Philadelphia. The council also wants advice on the best means to organize Mitten's street car men, subway guards, bus and taxi drivers. Mitten has locked out union elevator operators in his building, has instituted espionage and company unionism among his taxi drivers to kill union efforts and now announces that he will "allow no union to dictate my labor policies." Mitten was the object of a burning indictment by Editor J. M. Budish of the Headgear Worker at the Philadelphia Labor College conference on newer relations in industry.

### LEADS ELECTRICIANS



*Courtesy Electrical Workers Journal*

**H. H. BROACH**

Vice president of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in charge of New York district. He led successful fight for the five day week.

\$50,000. This, according to the Family Welfare Society, was enough to give each half-starving man, woman and child a few cents to last the winter through. Destitution, said Sec. Karl de Schweinitz of the Society, had not been worse since 1921. Tens of thousands of textile workers—tapestry weavers, upholstery weavers, workers on the fabrics — machinists, metal trades men and laborers, are among the jobless. In Buffalo 35,000 were

Hoover prosperity—the new brand—would make Spicer and McClintic-Marshall workers in Pottstown, Pa., laugh if it weren't so tragic. Mechanics as housewives and mothers as makers of universal joints and auto parts, is the situation at Spicer's, where half the men workers were fired and women hired at lower wages. At McClintic's iron works, the bosses understood Hooverism to mean more prosperity for stockholders, so the 75c. supper money and \$1.25 overtime allowance were discontinued. The workers were about to strike when the firm fired 200, many of whom had given years of service. A number of the discharged men were rehired at lower wages and many who got 80c. are now getting 35c.

\* \* \*

"Yes, the steel company's police are the only workers left on a 12-hour shift. I'm quitting at noon today. The job isn't worth the \$4 they pay!" So said the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad policeman to Esther Lowell, F. P. correspondent in the South. Dressed like an army officer, he was guarding the auto entrance to the Fairfield steel works, to see that none without passes entered. "There are a few 8-hour men, working at the furnaces. The rest are on 10-hour shifts. But we have to stay from 6 to 6, with only such time off for lunch as we need in snatching a couple of sandwiches." Another man will be hired to take his job. He will be armed and authorized to shoot down workers, especially Negro laborers, for alleged infractions.

\* \* \*

Graduate students of a prominent eastern divinity school sought high and low through the Ford factories for the spirit of Jesus. Their search was futile, they reported as they returned to college. "I have not told of the favorable side of the Ford plant because I could not find it," asserted one divinity student. "I feel that the Ford process means embitterment of workers not only toward the plant and the system, but toward the whole of life. The entire system needs to be changed, but I fear it will be impossible to change it so long as Mr. Ford lives."

\* \* \*

Two iron and coal police knocked

John Barkoski down, kept on knocking him down every time he tried to rise. Then they dragged him into the company's guard house. The lieutenant surveyed the limp form. "I feel like a good workout," he said, as he stripped to the waist. Seizing a poker he beat Barkoski's ribs and killed him. When the poker was bent out of shape he cast it aside and stamped on the prostrate form. All this happened at Imperial, Pa., a Pittsburgh Coal Co. town. The three coal and iron police are locked up on bail on murder charges. With the whole state horrified, Pennsylvania labor is clamoring again for the abolition of the coal and iron police.

\* \* \*

Behind the sweetness of candy is the bitterness of exploitation of young girls. So found the New York Consumers' League. The New Jersey League turned over identical facts. The lowest wages in New Jersey were paid girl candy workers. Many worked a full week for as low as \$6.80 and the average pay was \$10.35. Wages are 25c. an hour, and piece rates figure out even lower. Newark's two largest factories were found to be so filthy that the health department was informed. The health gentlemen replied that they knew it right along. Only one factory in the entire state has yet come up to the Consumers' League white list standard of compliance with health laws, a minimum wage of \$14 for 50 hours or less, and physical examination for workers at least once a year.

\* \* \*

"Yellow Dog" MacDonald, labor spy, is back in his happy hunting grounds among the full fashioned hosiery bosses. He has organized a new flim-flam outfit known as the Allied Manufacturers' League, Inc., "to combat communism and radicalism and its inroads into American industry," reports Robert W. Dunn, Federated Press correspondent and co-author of the "Labor Spy." So far only a few hosiery manufacturers have fallen for his game. MacDonald, in announcing his new shakedown, asserts that he is the "originator of the contract between employer and employe which is labeled by organized labor as the 'yellow dog' contract." Major C. E. Russell, a former Sherman spy, is vice president

of the league. He gained notoriety by trying to frame the late Senator LaFollette as a "communist agent" and is reported to have gotten \$50,000 for his unsuccessful efforts.

\* \* \*

Generous Anaconda! Its profits doubled, copper selling skyhigh at 17½c. a pound, Anaconda Copper Co. has raised the wages of its 10,000 miners and smelter men 5 per cent. It means that their average wage will be \$5.25 a day. Anaconda rules its Butte miners through "the rustling card." Prospective workers must subject themselves to the scrutiny of the "Butte Mutual Labor Bureau." If their ideas and records are approved, after consultation of the black lists, the worker is given a "rustling card" which merely permits him to hunt a job from the mine bosses. Other Butte employers cooperate in this labor bureau.

\* \* \*

A \$250,000 wallop! That is the minimum estimate of Albany Typographical's hitting power in its fight against a lockout engineered by the Hearst and Gannett chain papers in Albany. But New York union printers stand ready to send a cool \$500,000 themselves, while the resources of the international union are pledged to see the struggle through to victory. The \$250,000 wallop is the Albany Citizen, 16-page standard size newspaper whose circulation keeps on growing, much to the woe of Hearst and Gannett advertising and circulation managers. Gannett, inventor of a machine for setting type by telegraph, one step in his offensive against printers' jobs, is now having his hired technicians work out a photo-composing machine which will photograph typewriter copy directly for the stereotyping room, completely eliminating the compositor's job. Or at least, so he says, although both processes are in their infancy and the printers' union is not unduly apprehensive. The union is fighting Gannett hard in Albany and watching carefully his efforts to do away with printers' jobs.

*This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Federated Press eastern bureau manager.*



# The O'Fallon Case

## "The Greatest Lawsuit in History"

By GILBERT E. HYATT

**W**HAT has frequently been termed "the greatest lawsuit in history" is now awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court:

This is the famous suit of the St. Louis & O'Fallon Railway to prevent the Interstate Commerce Commission from "recapturing" income alleged to be in excess of six per cent.

It is not only the "greatest lawsuit in history" but is the direct outcome of the "greatest inventory in history and may result in "the greatest melon cutting."

While the O'Fallon is a tiny line only nine miles long, serving coal mines near St. Louis and owned entirely by the Busch interests, the suit is a test between the theories of railroad valuation of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the railroads.

Upon the result may hang not only the entire question of railroad valuation but the establishment of principles and methods applying to all public utilities.

Sums which stagger the imagination are involved. The most conservative estimates are that the railroad claims would result in an addition of at least \$10,000,000,000 to the approximate \$22,000,000,000 of the I.C.C.

Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman of the I.C.C. estimates the added burden of interest-bearing capitalization which would be placed upon the public for railroads and all other public utilities at \$30,000,000,000.

This, at the modest average income of six per cent, would result in added tax of \$1,800,000,000 per annum.

The O'Fallon has been very modest in its claims, as compared with those made by some railroads, yet it places a value of \$1,350,000 on its properties as against about \$850,000 by the I.C.C.

Apply this percentage to the 250,000 miles of railroad in contrast to the nine of the O'Fallon and it is possible to make a rough guess at the minimum which the railroads hope to capitalize by judicial decree.

The direct issue in the present suit is in the "recapture" sections of the Transportation Act which provide that one-half of the income of the railroads over six per cent shall be placed in trust fund to be used by the carrier in question in paying dividends, etc., during slack years and the other half placed in a general fund under the supervision of the I. C. C.

### Congress's Instructions

Back of this lie the instructions given the I.C.C. by Congress to fix freight and passenger rates which "will, under honest, efficient and economical management, and a reasonable expenditure for maintenance of way, structures and equipment, earn an aggregate annual railway operating income equal, as near as may be, to a fair return upon the aggregate value of the

railway property used for the purpose of transportation."

This "fair return" was fixed, by the I.C.C., at five and three-fourth per cent.

But—five and three-fourths per cent on what amount?

To answer this question the I.C.C. was instructed by Congress to find the value of the railroads by determining the "original cost to date, the cost less depreciation and the cost of reproduction new."

From the figures collected in fulfillment of this instruction the I.C.C. set a "value for rate making purposes."

In order to perform this task it was necessary to inventory every spike, tie, bolt and brick owned by the railroads and place a value upon them, which was done by using the unit cost prices of 1914 as being a fair average of that paid for materials.

### Railroads Balk

The carriers disputed the findings at every step even to the point of arguing whether coal boxes in way stations were new or depreciated and how much.

Then they challenged the entire procedure. The railroads are not depreciating but, on the contrary, are appreciating and self-perpetuating establishments, they say.

There is no such thing, they claim, as a value for rate making purpose and the I.C.C. was instructed to find, not this estimate, but the real value of the railroads.

The only true measure of this value is, they say, "cost of reproduction new."

Under this theory the railroads are imagined out of existence and then imagined back again.

The sums necessary for reconstruction, in this flight of fancy, of terminals and yards in big cities, rights of way through populous sections, equipment of every description and all the accretions of value which have occurred in the entire history of the railroads, are to be figured at present day prices.

In respect to lands, not content with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota Rates Cases that land used for railroad purposes should be valued at the price of similar adjoining property, it is claimed that these tracts have special values of their own because of peculiar adaptability to railroad use.

Donald Richberg, counsel for the National Conference on Valuation of American Railroads, in his brief before the Supreme Court as friend of the Court in the O'Fallon case, referred to the "imaginative estimates" of the railroad valuation experts.

Several other authorities have characterized the results of "reproduction new" valuation as nothing more than "dignified guesses."

It is in respect to the exceedingly vague factor called "going concern" that these "imaginative estimators" find a peculiarly congenial field.

This is an attempt to put into dollars and cents such intangibles as favorable contracts and friendly relations with other companies, goodwill on the part of the public and even the possession of forces if selected, well-trained and loyal employees.

In the Indianapolis Water Works case, the Supreme Court sustained the lower courts in giving "dominant consideration" to reproduction costs.

This resulted in fixing a value of \$19,000,000 on property originally costing less than \$10,500,000.

In this inflation of approximately \$8,500,000 was an item of \$1,500,000 for "going value."

It is not surprising to find such an eminent authority as the Reverend John A. Ryan referring, in a recently published treatise on "The Ethics of Public Utility Valuation," to "the enormity called 'going value.'"

Recently, students of public utility valuation have been coming more and more to what is called the "prudent investment theory." This is, in the shortest terms, that all sums, and only such sums, as were expended in a manner which can reasonably be construed as in good faith and prudence are entitled to be capitalized for the purpose of drawing income.

An example of the liberality with which this theory is construed by its proponents is in the famous Los Angeles & San Pedro railway valuation case.

It was shown that 84 miles of track had been washed out by a flood and abandoned, resulting in a loss of investment of about \$2,000,000.

The wisdom of the original location of the track was debatable but Commissioner Eastman of the I.C.C., one of the ablest advocates of the prudent investment doctrine, voted to give this project the benefit of the doubt and allow it to be capitalized.

Even with such liberality "prudent investment" valuation would undoubtedly result in a much lower total amount than that claimed by the railroads.

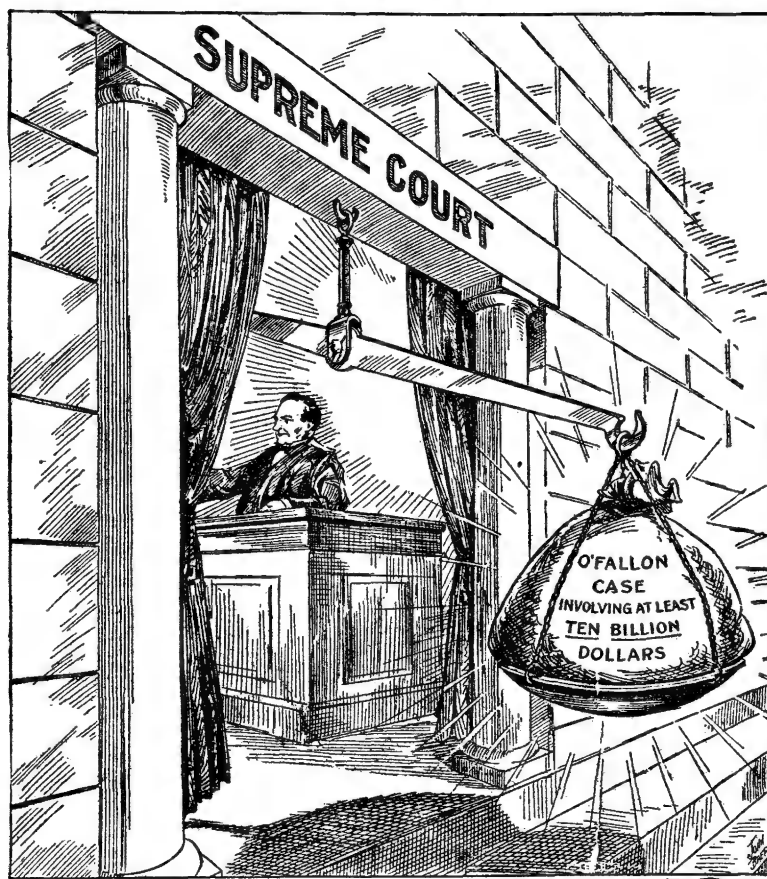
No one imagines that the railroads hope to be allowed rates which would yield six per cent or more on the inflated values they seek to establish.

### All the Traffic Will Bear

They are, as stated by Donald Richberg, "asserting a legal right to charge rates vastly in excess of what the traffic will bear. Thereby, they are laying the foundation for indefinite claims for increases in the event that the traffic will bear the strain."

A number of other highly advantageous results to the railroads and, especially, to those more interested

## WHICH WAY?



Baer in "Labor"

It is up to the highest tribunal. If the honorable gentlemen of the Supreme Court decide for the railroad owners rather than for the people, the demand for public ownership of the railroads will become vociferous.

in the manipulation of securities than in efficient operation, would result.

The railroads would be in a position to combat any decreases in rates and would have created a sponge which would soak up all increased profits until the highly problematic day when profits will have overtaken the court created valuation.

Increased wages and improved conditions for the employees would be greatly hindered or prevented by the argument that the carriers were not making anywhere near a "fair return" upon their capitalization.

This is not, by any means, the whole story.

Inasmuch as reproduction new values are based on current prices such values would fluctuate as prices of material varied.

The I.C.C., in its decision in the O'Fallon case, points this out in the following very clear and positive language:

"Let us consider the effect of applying this doctrine of current reproduction cost to all railroad property in the United States. For convenience in calculation

## THE BROOKWOOD ALUMNI PROTEST

IT was with great pleasure that we read the protest of the Brookwood alumni to President Green of the A. F. of L.

They denied that they were loyal to the Labor Movement "in spite of Brookwood," but because of Brookwood.

They were not wild-eyed irresponsibles who signed this statement, but men who have shown by their works that they mean to advance the Movement. Just for the record, we will quote some of the names:

Israel Mufson, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and head of the Philadelphia Labor College; Leonard Craig, of the Molders International Union and the educational director of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; Charles L. Reed of the International Association of Ma-

chinists of Vice-President of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor; Alfred Hoffman, secretary of the Piedmont Organizing Council; Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Margaret Wall of the United Garment Workers; William Ross of the Boiler Makers' Union and secretary of the Baltimore Labor College; and Anton Garden, Desire Bellavor, Cal Bellavor and Harry Bellavor of the United Mine Workers.

The whole anti-Brookwood business smacks too much of Civic Federation busy-bodding in the Movement. Acting on misinformation, those who threw the school to the heresy-hunting fires caused many a smile to flicker on the lips of the Open Shop backers of that Federation. It was a triumph for the anti-union forces.

and for want of an accurate figure, we shall assume 18 billions as the value at 1914 unit prices of structures existing on June 30, 1919. The aggregate value which we used in *Ex Parte* 74 at the time of the general rate increase of 1920 was \$18,900,000,000 for all property used for transportation purposes. But taking 18 billions as a base and applying the bureau's ratios, the value of precisely the same structures would have become 41.4 billions in 1920, 35.1 billions in 1921, 28.3 billions in 1922, and 31.3 billions in 1923. In other words, assuming a static property there would have been a gain of 23.4 billions in 1920, a loss of 6.3 billions in 1921, a further loss of 6.8 billions in 1922 and a gain again of 3 billions in 1923. These huge 'profits' and 'losses' would have occurred without change in the railroad property used in the public service other than the theoretical and speculative change derived from a shifting of general price levels. . . . During the seven years 1920 to 1926, inclusive, there was an approximate net investment in additions and betterments and new construction of four billions. These were paid for at then current prices, all above, in many cases far above, present prices. Assuming that there has since been an average decline in unit price level of 25 per cent, a valuation under the current reproduction cost doctrine would wipe out one billion of that additional investment. The effect upon any railroad entirely or largely constructed during the period 1920 to 1926 may be imagined."

The surmises which the Commission invites may be assisted by the observation that it has been estimated that "75 per cent of the moneys actually invested in property through securities have come from bonds and only 25 per cent from stock."

The income of bonds and preferred stock is fixed and rigid in almost all cases. With common stock the sky is the limit.

It is pointed out, in Dr. Ryan's analysis of the Indianapolis Water Works decision, that the equity of the company of \$2,500,000 as compared with a total issue of bonds and preferred stock of \$10,247,300 and a total investment, including enhanced values of land,

of \$12,750,000, was due to draw 32 per cent under the inflated "reproduction" value of \$19,000,000,000.

Such possibilities of enormous profits, coupled with wide fluctuations in value resulting from changes in current prices, would, under the reproduction method of valuation, open the way to speculation and manipulation of the wildest description.

The result would undoubtedly be such a breakdown of regulation as to compel resort to public ownership.

AT LAST!

## LABOR'S NEWS

*The News Magazine of the Labor Movement*

Strikes — lockouts — Detroit — speedup — mechanization — Pittsburgh — Chicago — wage cuts — 10-hour day — yellow dog contracts — injunctions — old-age pensions — auto workers — steel workers — coal miners — Albany printers — West coast lumber workers.

These words are the symbols of the organized and unorganized millions of American labor.

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# Labor-Capital Cooperation

## The Lineup in Britain

By CARA COOK

**R**ATIONALIZATION — Mondism — industrial reconstruction—cooperation, — British workers are floundering confused in these terms as American workers are in union-management-cooperation, class collaboration, and company unionism. Rationalization is by far the most popular lecture subject in union classes now, and Mondism, used practically as a synonym, is declared in the same breath to be "massacre for the masses" and "the inevitable next step towards workers' control of industry."

Briefly this is the story. The Trades Union Congress convention in September 1927, through the president's speech, showed itself disposed to consider "a direct exchange of practical views between representatives of the great organized bodies who have responsibility for the conduct of industry" which might "yield useful results in showing how far and on what terms cooperation is possible in a common endeavor to improve the efficiency of industry and to raise the workers' standard of life."

A group of 20 "representative" employers took this hint a couple of months later by inviting the T. U. C. to a conference for discussing "questions relating to the entire field of industrial reorganization and relations." Just why employers should have been so ready to confer jointly with trade unions greatly weakened in membership and negotiating power by the 1926 general strike, is not quite clear.

In his speech at the opening meeting, Sir Alfred Mond, also known as Lord Melchett, chairman of the chemical combine and leader of the employers' group, said:

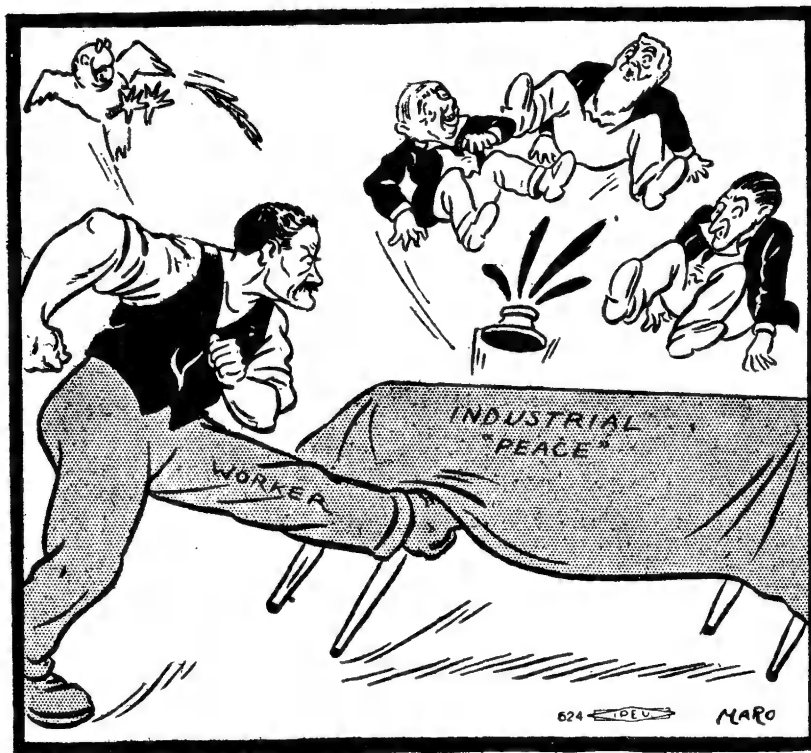
"The employers' group issued the invitation as individuals, and not as representing associations or businesses. No existing organization of employers is empowered to take such action, or even to cover the entire field of industrial reorganization and relations." On the other hand Mond pointed out that the employers fully realized the advantages of dealing with representatives of organized labor. "We wish to assist and not destroy the trade union movement."

Elaborate statistics gathered by the unions' Research Department show these employers to represent directorships in 198 companies, executives of the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations, the iron and steel manufacturers, the chemical and flour milling employers and the Association of Chambers of Commerce.

With considerable beating about the bush and careful guarantees that neither side was committing to anything definite, the joint conferences got under way in December, 1927. Discussions were based on a

flexible agenda of eight main topics (and 35 sub-topics) such as industrial relations, unemployment, control of industry, finance and wages. At the outset the T. U. C. representatives demanded definite recognition of the union as the proper negotiating agent in industrial matters. The employers agreed; in the words of the conference,—"The Trades Union Congress is the only body . . . to discuss and negotiate on all questions relating to industrial reorganization," and "the most effective cooperation can be obtained by negotiations with the accredited represen-

### VEHEMENT OBJECTION



*Sunday Worker (London)*

Illustrating the "Left" attitude toward Mondism.



tatives of affiliated unions or of unions recognized by the T. U. C. as bona fide trade unions."

The second delicate point disposed of was victimization, on which it was agreed that "it is most undesirable that any workman should be dismissed or otherwise penalized on account of his membership in a union, or his official position in a union or on account of any legitimate trade union activities." If cases of victimization could be proved, it was agreed also that "some appeal machinery should be provided for the investigation and review of such cases."

### No Compulsory Arbitration

Then the joint committee went into the details of a National Industrial Council for preventing and settling disputes, both groups agreeing that "nothing in the nature of compulsory arbitration could be considered."

All this wasn't plain sailing, however. In spite of its caution, the T. U. C. became at once a target for bitter criticism from among its own members, while the 20 employers, on the other hand, were subject to caustic comments by some of their less cooperative brethren.

The National Confederation, counterpart of the National Association of Manufacturers, from the beginning has taken no part in the discussions as a group, but has announced that problems arising in industry can best be settled through the existing joint machinery. The same position was taken by the Engineering Employers' Federation, the metal trades association of Great Britain. There is still hope, however, that the progress of the discussions and the pressure of the Mond group will bring in these recalcitrant employers.

Meanwhile the unions are expressing themselves. First, an alleged interview given by Mond in Italy praising the Fascist regime, raised a howl. A motion was considered to break off the meetings, but Mond was able to explain the matter to the satisfaction of the T. U. C. representatives.

Then the Amalgamated Engineering Union, (the 160,000 machinists) still smarting from its disastrous struggle with the Engineering Employers in 1922, wrote asking the General Council where it got its constitutional right to enter into such conferences in the name of the trade unions. Around this technical point centered the chief opposition to the joint meetings voiced at the 1928 T. U. C. convention.

The other opposition has come from that section of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain which is led by A. J. Cook. The gist of his argument is that actual gains for the workers can come only when and if they are strong enough to take them by organized force, and not through cooperation and compromise.

"Mondism is an attempt to mend capitalism. . . . Membership is what brings recognition, not promises. . . Nationalization is not benefiting the workers; it is leading to international market complications and that means war. . . . Is the trade union movement still, as throughout its history, engaged in a conflict with the employing class, or has that conflict been eliminated?" These are some of his points.

Just recently a new crimp arose in the proceedings. It looked like the most serious snag yet, for if true, it put the trade unions in the same category as "black-leg" and company unions. Before a group of chemical employers Mond was reported to have said:

"We discussed this point in detail in committee (the question of what is a bona fide union). The Seamen's Union is still regarded by the General Council as a bona fide trade union, although it is not only not affiliated, but has been expelled. There is a definition of a trade union which has a legal significance under various Acts of Parliament. The non-political miners' union is recognized as a bona fide trade union under these statutes."

The Seamen's Union mentioned has been expelled by the T. U. C. and by donating funds to certain outlaw groups has been branded by the unions as "scab." The Notts Miners group, by individual negotiations with coal operators, has earned for itself the title of a company union, and is no longer affiliated to the Miners' Federation.

Cook said that if this view of a bona fide trade union was upheld by the other employers, it could only mean the early and entire abandonment of the discussions. The T.U.C., however, was inclined to wait and see if Mond really said this, and if so, whether he meant it.

His reply was considered at a recent meeting of the General Council, and he is reported in the Daily Herald to declare that "the report was not only entirely unauthorized, but essentially inaccurate and incorrect, and the whole idea it conveyed was misleading. The miners' non-political union cannot be regarded as a bona fide union within the terms of the resolution."

That disposes of this snag so far as the General Council is concerned, but the objectors still insist that explanations are only the sugar coating around the pill.

### Britain's Plight

Haunting the background of the entire proceedings, is the spectre of British industry, sadly dislocated, with its million and a half registered unemployed, a half million loss in union membership since 1920, wage cuts increasing, and one coal miner in every four idle—a situation so desperate that it is being treated like a national disaster, for the relief of which \$5,500,000 had been contributed up to the last week of January.

No wonder British workers are suspicious and confused amidst this welter of words, charges and counter-charges, politics and poverty!

\* \* \*

Since writing the above, the Federation of British Industries and the Confederation of Employers' Organizations have officially rejected the Melchett-Turner proposal to establish a National Industrial Council, and their interim report embodying the work accomplished to date. Ben Tillett chairman of the Trades Union Council, declares that this reply "offers no hope or scope" for satisfactory discussion, and is an attempt to stultify the good work already done. The labor *Daily Herald* declares editorially, "it proves once more that, like the Bourbons, the majority of British employers are incapable of learning anything."

# On the Firing Line

By B. M. JAMES

**I**NJUNCTIONS and industrial disputes are admittedly a weapon in the hands of the employers for the intimidation and oppression of labor. Even the Democratic and

Republican Parties felt impelled to make some pledges of curbing the "excessive" use of injunctions. Not so the Bar Association. The New York Legislature is now considering a bill sponsored by the New York State Federation of Labor. It is rather a timid bill. All it demands is that no injunction be granted without notice to the union and a preliminary hearing, and that alleged violations of the injunction or so-called contempt of court shall be subject to trial by jury. Only the most rabid representatives of one-sided class justice can oppose such mild amendments of the present arbitrary and crying abuses of the injunction evil. But the Bar Association of New York does not hesitate to fight this bill openly. In the face of such action, all their professions of non-partisan fairness are worthless. The Bar definitely acts as an agency of the worst type of labor baiting open shop employers. He who pays the piper calls the tune; so is the lawyers' sense of justice determined by the employing class. The same attitude was taken by the American Bar Association on a similar bill which is now before Congress.

In view of this attitude, the conclusion is inevitable that the American Bar Association is definitely aligned with expressed enemies of organized labor. There is no safer test. No one who is for injunctions can be considered otherwise but an open and unqualified enemy of labor. Why then should organized labor let itself be taken in by the Bar Association and its so-called Peace Plan. Their plan that agreements for arbitration shall be made irrevocable and enforceable by the courts, and that no strike action be permitted until a semi-judicial body has an opportunity to investigate and report, is a trap which will open the injunction gates even much wider than they are at present.

As to arbitration, when some semi-judicial body has the authority to appoint the arbitrator in the case of disagreement, the recent arbitration cases of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L.

**Arbitration** supply the necessary lesson. Two identical cases were taken up by arbitration boards under the same Railway Labor Act—the cases of the Chesapeake and Ohio and of the New York Central. In the latter case, the workers were awarded a paltry increase of 5 cents per hour. In the former case, however, the workers received no consideration at all. Says the *Machinists' Monthly Journal*: "The uncertainty of securing from boards of arbitration favorable consideration of reasonable demands for increased wage rates is shown by the awards in two cases presented to such boards during the past twelve months. . . . The point we wish to make is one never knows what to expect from a board of arbitration. Apparently the outcome of a case depends less upon the evidence presented than upon the character of the men selected to act as arbitrators." Imagine what considera-

tion labor could possibly receive from arbitrators who are to be appointed by the courts or by semi-judicial bodies!

The grave dangers presented by the plan of the Bar Association are therefore quite apparent. The worst of it is that the last convention of the A. F. of L. practically failed to discuss the plan at all. The convention left the entire question in the hands of the same special committee which was conferring all the time with the Bar

**Matthew Woll**

Association on this plan, and which is headed by Matthew Woll, who has given that plan all kinds of encouragement in statements in the public press. Neither can it be overlooked that Matthew Woll is the Acting President of the National Civic Federation which has sponsored similar arbitration plans. It is a serious situation. Labor must not let itself fall blindly into this Peace Plan-trap.

"So, trade unionists, wake up. Arise before it is too late. Our battle cry should be—Organize! Organize! Organize!" This is the battle cry of one of the veterans of the old guard of the A. F. of L., President Daniel J. Tobin of the Teamsters' International Union in the last issue of their official journal. There is one thing about

**Tobin's Diagnosis**

Brother Tobin—he knows the facts and appreciates that the Labor Movement must face these facts courageously and act accordingly. He sees the dangers which "if not guarded against will sap the life blood of many of the organizations that are now seemingly impregnable." As to the facts: "Many of the metal trades, especially the molders, have been reduced substantially in membership. There is nothing at all left of the old metal miners' organization which at one time was so strong. Only a shadow is left of the once powerful Seamen's union. The Ladies' Garment Workers' Union used to pay tax on 100,000. Last year they paid on 30,000. [Let us note in parentheses that the per capita tax on these 30,000, according to Secretary Morrison's report, was paid by the Executive Council.] And so it is down the line. . . . The miners had their tax paid by a vote of the Executive Council. . . . I think I can truthfully say that I know the coal miners and I have never known the organization to be in the shape it is at present. If the Federation was to figure the actual membership paying tax they would be far below the previous year."

Truly an alarming situation. Daniel J. Tobin sees three causes of this decline—First and most serious, the lack of interest in the union upon the part of the average member.

**The Causes** Second, the unemployment resulting from the enormous use of highly efficient and fast producing machinery. Third, the so-called welfare schemes of many large employers used to corrupt the mentality of the workers in order to wean them away and to keep them away from the unions. In a certain sense these three causes reduce themselves to the same underlying basis, to the sluggishness, complacency and lack of militancy of organized labor. A leading article in the official journal of the Illinois State Federation of

## LABOR AGE

Labor strikes at the heart of the question. "The historic mission of our unions is to break new social paths. This means action, often defeat, but more often victory" — So long as the unions remain reluctant to take action; so long as they are apparently afraid of new social paths, it is hardly possible to expect the rank and file of the membership to become more actively interested.

The high pressure methods of the organized employers and their army of personnel managers and industrial engineers to control the minds of the workers could not have been successful but for the timidity and lack of spirit and inspiration upon the part of our own unions. The so-called welfare schemes would not be half as effective in

### "Welfare" Poison

deceiving the workers if these schemes would not get some encouragement from our own leadership and if the labor movement would expose them unequivocally and vigorously. After all even unorganized workers are not deprived of common sense. It is a well established fact that in order to reduce premiums on such welfare plans as group insurance, disability and invalidity benefits, etc., employers have adopted a policy of discharging men over 40 and it is next to impossible for men of that age to secure a new job. Neither can technological unemployment be reduced without substantial reductions in hours of labor and no less substantial increases in wages so that the purchasing power of the people may be raised proportionately to the enormous increase of the productive capacity of industry. It does not demand too much intelligence upon the part of *any* worker to realize that the only way to secure such improvements is by means of organization. But to overcome the corrupting influence of the welfare schemes *the lines must be sharply drawn*. We must teach the workers that they cannot rely upon their employers and that their only salvation is in their own organized power.

To quote again the same article of the bulletin of Illinois State Federation of Labor: "Before the world war our opponents were open in their antagonism. The war

### Moscow

told them the value of psychology — a knowledge of the human mind. Following the war every striker was classed as an agent of Moscow and the wave swept through the country for 'industrial democracy' and company unions. That Moscow charge affected the workers' courage, as was intended." One cannot fail to agree with the editorial of the Paper Makers' Journal that those who raise that Communist cry "are, like the witches of Salem, trying to cast a spell over the people to gain their own selfish ends. They should receive similar treatment." As long as we let ourselves use that same Moscow cry in our internal disagreements, we make it possible for the employers to turn this weapon against us and wean away the worker from the unions.

Three more incidents from the firing line in that unceasing battle between the workers and the employers should be quoted. We still remember the loss of more than

### The "Vestris"

100 human lives on the Vestris. In a statement submitted to members of Congress President Furuseth of the Seamen's Union, puts the blame directly upon the Government. "I have no hesitation in stating," says Furuseth, "that if statute law and Supreme Court decisions had been

obeyed by our merchant marine, there would have been no such disaster of the Vestris." But strict enforcement of the law might interfere with excessive profits, so "under the ruling" of the government "safety provisions of the Seamen's Act were nullified." What if the life of the workers is endangered, as long as the profits of the employers remain unimpaired. Here is another case. By a ruling of the Secretary of the Navy the hours of labor of a large number of employes were summarily lengthened from 7 to 8 hours a day. According to the Federal Employes' Journal, "There has been no increase of pay and no opportunity has been given the employes or their representatives to be heard."

So it goes all along the line including International relations. Piero Parini "secretary of Fascist organizations of Italy," visited the United States mobilizing Mussolini's "black shirts." During his visit the plant of the anti-Fascist New York Daily was raided and wrecked. LABOR, the official weekly of the railroad unions asks pointedly: "*Why was the chief official of such an organization permitted to enter the United States?*" If an official of the Soviet government at Moscow, bearing the title of "secretary of Communist organizations outside of Russia" presented himself at the port of New York would he be allowed to enter the country? Everyone knows the answer. Secretary of State Kellogg would be having nervous chills from the moment he learned such an official crossed the Russian border. He would demand—and get—the help of the army, navy, Marine Corps and Public Health Service to keep the awful creature from landing! Yet Parini is admitted freely. Why? Why make fish of one and fowl of the other?" (the italics are in the original). We wonder whether this drastic difference of treatment accorded to Sovietism and Fascism does not suggest to our worthy contemporary that there is a real and fundamental difference between these two regimes and philosophies.

After all persons and institutions are best judged by the friends and enemies they are making. The fact is, LABOR itself could not miss the point. "Of course," says the same editorial in "Labor," "the reason is that the dictator, Mussolini, has so manipulated things that the Fascist enjoys Wall Street favors, and the support of the powers which make up Mr. Kellogg's mind for him."

Right! But is it a question of mere manipulation? Or may it be that Wall Street favors Mussolini because the Fascist dictatorship is of, for and by the privileged few,

### Wall Street

as against the working people and the toilers, while Wall Street hates Soviet Russia because it is a dictatorship of, for and by the working people and toiling masses as against the privileged few. Is it not possible that the idea of the alleged hostility of Sovietism to free government is more a product of that pernicious open shop propaganda which was started by the employing class after the World War and which classed every striker as an agent of Moscow rather than based on any well established facts? May we suggest to our worthy contemporary that such recognized champions of democracy and free government as Prof. John Dewey and Roger N. Baldwin to mention only two who investigated Soviet conditions on the spot deserve more credence than all the lying propaganda of Wall Street and its agencies.

# In Other Lands

## THE PRINCE AND POVERTY



Poverty with its attendant misery among the coal miners was, with unconscious irony, given its greatest advertisement—sold as the American promoters say—by one farthest removed from the scenes of economic decrepitude and industrial depression, no less a person than the Prince of Wales. The Prince saw nothing that was not already reported and he discovered nothing that had not been shouted from the housetops by labor and socialist speakers and members of parliament. Yet he caused a sensation and staggered a large number of the smug and complacent middle class people into a realization that there was something radically wrong in Britain. Ramsay MacDonald and his associates were quick to grasp the significance of the situation and the advertising value of the Prince's tour by capitalizing it for their cause and made it contribute very seriously to their campaign in Battersea where they won a smashing victory. The Prince and the Pauper as seen in the cartoon taken from the New York World is no longer a fairy tale for children but a gripping, realistic story for grownups. So great was the effect and so deep was the feeling in England that the Tory and Liberal capitalists and landlords, through the government, forced the Prince to cancel his tour and leave South Wales before the calendar altogether. The fourth special election victory by Labor was too much for the economic lords of the country.

A. J. Cook, the miners' union leader, says there is too much maudlin sentiment and too little practical work. He called attention in one of his latest addresses to the withholding of funds subscribed for the miners and demanded that the Premier, Stanley Baldwin, make good his promise to back the subscriptions pound for pound. Cook also demands an end to the contemptible doles and charity that are sapping the spirit of the miners and a reorientation of the industries of the country.

### BRITISH LABOR'S SWEEP

A general election is announced for June and all parties are buckling on their armor for the fray. Labor so far has

had the best of all the by-election battles and won sweeping victories lately. The Liberals are boasting they will contest a majority of the seats and are promising not to be allied with Labor. Only a miracle can give the followers of Lloyd George and Herbert Samuel victory even though they have the biggest war chest of the three parties. The Tories were never so unpopular as they are today. Their foreign policy in Austen Chamberlain's hands has had rough sailing since Locarno. On navy matters Chamberlain and Baldwin yielded to the navy jingoes and made one mess after another for the government and their party. First there was the Geneva conference where Baldwin and the naval lords repudiated their delegate before the conferees had finished their labors and thereby prevented an agreement with Washington. Next came the Paris deal with both England and France caught trying to doublecross America. The last and



*London Daily Herald*

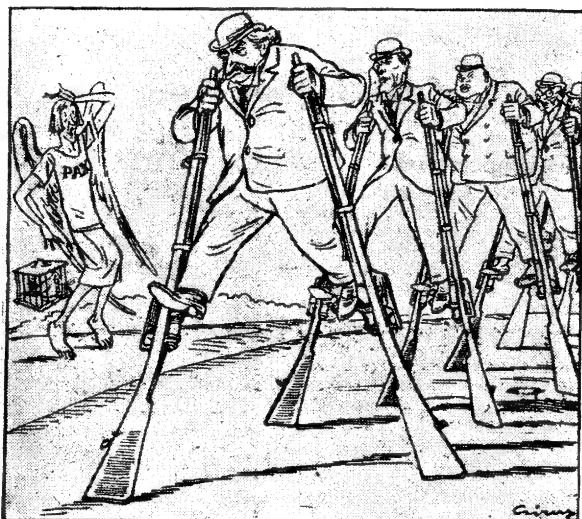
the most recent blunder was the statement of Ambassador Howard predicting a naval conference after the general elections.

As Labor's chances of victory are brighter than ever progressives are anxious to know what MacDonald and his aides will do should they be the next government of Britain. Will imperialism be checked, or made agreeable to its victims in Egypt, India and Africa? Will MacDonald



build cruisers and battleships to relieve the unemployed as he did before instead of spending the money for sound colonization of the unemployed in the wide open spaces of Australia and Canada? Will the Ulster boundary farce be repeated in India? Will the mandated lands be given a chance or will they be merged into the Empire? Above all will the workers of Britain be given a square deal, fundamentally speaking, or will they be continued in the rut of stagnation, kept alive on doles?

#### TALK PEACE, BUILD BATTLESHIPS



The frantic and sometimes comic pretensions on the part of France, Germany and Britain to appear as peace loving nations opposed to war and imperialism is satirized in the Milan "Guerin Meschino" which depicts the Foreign Ministers of the above countries moving onward in the march of peace using reversed bayonets as walking stilts. All three while eloquently talking peace are laying down cruisers and submarines as well as building airfleets. Wickham Steed, the London editor, while in Germany secured a copy of a secret document which explained why the Reich had built a new cruiser and was ready to construct others. The Groener memo, as the document Steed published is called, said the Reich was preparing for a war with Poland and getting ready for an emergency should war between England and Russia break out.

#### VATICAN CITY—SIC TRANSIT

Economically it is of no importance to the world that the Papal State or Vatican has been restored to territorial sovereignty, for it is too small to mean anything. In adverse ratio to its insignificance the Vatican state is important in its political aspects and to the Catholic Church in its organization work. It is evident that Mussolini who is an atheist has more than the Papacy in mind. With one stroke the Duce counteracts and offsets much of the opposition against his regime abroad, especially in this and other countries of the West. At the same time he consolidates his position at home and brings to his camps a mass of new recruits and followers thereby making his position in the Balkans and in the Near East so much stronger. Tranquility at home and complete or-

ganization of all social and spiritual forces make the Dictator the most formidable power in the Mediterranean, fit to cope with the French or a combination of little and big nations on the Danube and the Balkans. The Papacy in the long run will be the loser in that its spiritual authority will be questioned in many countries as well as giving a new lease of life to the anti-clerical movement in Italy and indeed everywhere else.

#### TROTZKY EXILED

Not since Napoleon was sent to St. Helena has Europe been confronted with a personal problem equal to that of Trotsky. The Soviet exiles him not for treason to Russia, for he has served it and the Revolution well, but for disobedience to party rules. Instead of profiting by the ex-



LEON TROTZKY

perience of all nations since autocracy waned in the world and allowing an opposition party to function if for nothing else than to have a repository for its own dissentients and recalcitrants, it exiles a man who may be needed later. The irony of politics and revolutions was never so aptly illustrated than to have the man who was the chief instrument of the Revolution as well as the organizer and for a time the chief luminary in the Presidium of the Dictatorship of the Communist Party, expelled from the Republic he more than any other helped to create by the aggregation now in power.



# "Say It With Books"



## PASSIONATE PERSONNEL MEN

Labor Management, by Gordon Watkins. A. W. Shaw Co.

IF the company-unionized workers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the group-insurance employees of General Electric, the stock-ownership dupes of Standard Oil, or the time-studied robots of General Motors want to learn something of the broader technique of their exploitation, let them consult this 700-page tome by Prof. Watkins. It will show workers how high-salaried personnel managers do their stuff for their industrial masters. It tells how to keep labor more or less "satisfied" with dribblets of welfare disguised as "economic justice" and "scientific humanized relations." It tells how these specialists "adjust" labor to the prevailing slavery of the wage system. In short, it is an excellent reference manual on the current Americanization of labor and the methods used to "sell" the non-union shop to machine tenders.

Watkins is personnel counselor for the Title Insurance and Trust Co. of Los Angeles, Open Shop paradise of California, where the Chamber of Commerce can boast that labor agitation has been liquidated, but where a local "Red Squad" promptly raids the headquarters of any thing resembling a labor defense or an anti-imperialist organization. Watkins knows his science of "human engineering," and covers an amazing range of topics. The busy factory executive eager to keep workers happy under non-union servitude, will learn from the book—how to recruit a labor force, how to select and place it on the job, how to cut down labor turnover, how to discipline and discharge, how to create interest in the job and stimulate abject loyalty to the great God Company. He will be told how to "educate" the hands to accept their lot in society, how to encourage them to own their own homes through a company-controlled housing association. He will learn how to oil up human relations with baseball teams and feather parties and other good-will stimulating devices.

More concretely, he will learn how to hand them just the right solution of company unionism to suit their thirst for intra-plant "democracy" and "industrial government." Like other advocates of the company union he considers it a "substitute for the traditional union," a "new conception" and "an equitable fulfillment of a moral responsibility," and a lot more of that sort of thing. And like other personnel "scientists," he blurs the company union and the trade union into the same composite picture—however, devoting five times as much space to the company union as to the real labor union.

Objectively, the aim of the book, as the first chapter

implies, is to save capitalism from "friction in employment relations," to develop "mutual interest" between millionaire owners and \$20-a-week employees, to mitigate "industrial unrest," and to help cure what he admits is "the unremedied pathological conditions" in the economic organization of modern civilization, by putting the damper on the class struggle.

It is entirely fitting that this bible of management practice should open with a quotation from one of the Twelve Apostles of Big, Boasting, Self-Confident Business. Chas. M. Schwab, whose attacks on the steel workers, whose company unions, whose spies and state constabularies are not forgotten by the workers of Buffalo, Bethlehem and Johnstown. A few months ago I examined the bloody stitches in the head of a coal miner in Export, Pa., who had just been brutally clubbed by one of Schwab's murderous coal and iron policemen. Schwab, one of Watkins' "progressive minded employers", is represented in this book as passionate for the "management of men on a human basis."

Reading the book makes one conscious of the contrast between the mouth-filling professions of the personnel agents of the employers and the conditions the workers face in American industry. One thinks, for example, of all the health standards, and the rest and lunch-time periods called for in the college textbooks on personnel relations, and then remembers the boys along the motor assembly line at Ford's with 15 minutes to get and bolt their sandwiches while "service men" bawl them out if they sit down for a minute when the line is held up. The standards laid down in such books are not observed in one per cent of the factories in this country. Only those features that can be made to yield immediate profits are adopted by the corporation executives, and those schemes that forestall agitation for free unions.

The theme of the book is then: let the workers trust to the "enlightened" manager of industry. Let them avoid state interference or political action, or trade unions—in other words their own weapons of wringing gains from the employers. "Trust in the boss, don't organize, smile, and work hard" is the philosophy of Watkins and his group. Then the employer may, if it pays him, give you "good wages and reasonable hours" (concepts not defined). In his own words: "Labor must be competent, cooperative, contented and loyal." This is the blessed state of economic feudalism which Watkins would like the employers to make permanent for the American working class.

ROBERT DUNN

## RACES AND CLASSES

**The American Negro.** Edited by Donald Young. American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1928. 360 pp., \$2.

**T**HERE are ten and a half million Negroes in the United States. Of this number four million live in the cities and make up a large proportion of the wage earners of the most exploited and most poorly paid unskilled and semi-skilled trades. The migration of the Negroes from country to city and from South to North is continuing and assumes larger proportions. Between 1915 and 1928, approximately 1,200,000 Negroes moved from the south to the north, according to Chas. S. Johnson. The increase of Negro urban population in the Southern states was considerably larger. The Negroes now provide 21 per cent of all the building laborers of the United States, 24 per cent of the chemical laborers, 60 per cent of the tobacco workers, 14 per cent of the iron and steel laborers, 89.5 per cent of the turpentine workers, 39 per cent of the saw and planing mill unskilled hands, 16 per cent of the blast furnace and rolling mill unskilled hands, 29 per cent of the glass workers, 42 per cent of the fish packing and curing hands, almost 32 per cent of the longshoremen, 3.8 per cent of the carpenters, 5½ per cent of the iron moulders, 7.7 per cent of the coal miners and 3 per cent of the petroleum workers.

In addition to being engaged in occupations with the

longest hours and lowest wages, there is frequently a dual scale of wages for white workers and Negro workers. This is especially the case in the South. In many cases the Negroes get only half as much as the white workers for the same work. Most of the trades in which the Negroes are engaged are entirely unorganized, and the oppression of and discrimination against the Negroes is used to hold down the white workers as well. Most of the A. F. of L. unions have not yet given up their discriminatory rules against the Negro workers and are still putting all kinds of difficulties in the way of admission of Negroes to membership. In some cases they bar Negroes from membership in the union outright. This is one of the serious hindrances in the way of any really great and effective organizing campaign. All these vestiges of prejudices against the Negro must be wiped out to enable organized labor to tackle not only the Negro problem but also the problem of organizing the unorganized.

The book under review is a distinguished contribution to the subject. It consists of many essays on such subjects as Racial Relations, the Negro Element in the Population, Their Legal Status, Economic Achievement, Mental Ability, Organization for Social Betterment and Race Relations in Other Lands, by more than thirty authors, excellently arranged and edited by Prof. Donald Young. As in all such joint works there are differences in point of view, attitude, etc., and not all the chapters may have the same value. But the book on the whole

## 4

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maintains a scientific attitude toward the entire race question. The much vaunted race differences are considered by Prof. Miller to be rationalizations for the explanation and maintenance of the social system rather than real inherent race characteristics. "Race theories did not develop until the relations between race groups raised class problems . . . Class formulations were developed first, and merely appropriated when race consciousness in its modern form appeared. What we really mean by higher and lower races are higher and lower classes, and the only thing that race has to do with it as an advertising label before which it is difficult to be blindfolded." No scientific student of the question will fail to agree with this estimate of the race problem.

J. M. BUDISH

### PATHS TO PEACE

**Between War and Peace. A Handbook for Peace Workers.** By Florence B. Boeckel, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1928. 591 pages. Price, \$2.50.

**T**HIS book written by Florence Boeckel, Educational Director of the National Council for Prevention of War, is just the thing to get into the hands of that increasing army of men and women in America who have dedicated themselves to the task of fighting against international warfare.

The author begins with the contention that governments—most of them in the control of special interests—are responsible for war, not "human nature," that poor old horse so frequently burdened with the sins of the ages. She analyzes the manner in which the interests of labor, of the farmers, of women, of the youth, are definitely opposed to the destructive influences of international warfare; briefly reviews the whole category of forces leading to and away from another international conflict and answers the question, "What can we do for World Peace?"

The author is not one of these peace lovers who thinks that mere peace settles all problems. She looks at peace merely as an opportunity for "increased justice and happiness among men and for increased power through increased cooperation." She quotes the words of the "Japan Chronicle" that "international justice can be made sure only . . . in a society where brute force does not stalk about as the final arbiter but social relations are regulated by human wisdom and virtue."

She gives us the astounding figures of losses in the World War—over 10,000,000 directly killed; over three hundred billion dollars of wealth destroyed, liberties suppressed, morality shattered. She shows us that, terrible as was the World War, far more terrible would be a future international conflict. The greatest weight of bombs hurled on the country side in Great Britain in any one month during the World War was 12 tons. In the next war it would be possible during one French raid to hurl from airplanes no less than 120 tons on a helpless population. Chemists are making poison gases which could wipe out whole populations and make the land a dreary waste.

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volve Great Britain into a war with Russia on the side of Poland; how it threatened "tools down" in the Near-Eastern crisis and how Ramsay MacDonald as Labor's Premier created a new spirit in Europe during his 9 months in office. She gives the resolutions of the International Trade Union movement in its war against war. She shows the influence of American labor in preventing intervention in Mexico.

The book gives less attention than the subject deserves to the economic causes of war, but by and large it is one of the most useful arsenals of facts on the tragedy of war and the paths to world peace that has been issued in many a day. Its complete bibliography greatly increases its value.

HARRY W. LAIDLER

## THE TRADE ASSOCIATION

A TRADE association is an organization of concerns in a certain trade or industry for their mutual economic advantage. Since the benefits of such a combination may arise from a restriction of competition, the courts are often called in to judge whether the anti-trust laws have been violated in any particular instance. So little has been written on this subject that even such a technical book as "Trade Associations: the Legal Aspects" by Benjamin S. Kirsh, formerly Special Assistant United States Attorney in New York in the prosecution of anti-trust cases, is particularly welcome. (Published by the Central Book Co., New York).

While the trade associations go back to the period before the Civil War, they really received their greatest impetus during the World War, when the United States Government encouraged them in order to have central agencies in each industry with which to deal. In the post-bellum period Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce came to their aid. We can expect him as President to give them immense encouragement.

Trade associations have always had monopolistic tendencies. They have been playing "tag" with the law, changing their tactics whenever they have been caught. While it is now perfectly clear that the courts will declare illegal any trade association, exchange or institute that endeavors to control output or price or to determine to whom to sell or from whom to buy, it is not so certain where the line will be drawn in specific cases. Technical devices have been developed by these "cooperative" groups which may look innocent enough on paper but which may actually accomplish the prohibited objects. Mr. Kirsh in his book analyzes some of the most important practices to determine how far a trade association may go in the light of recent decisions. He takes up statistical services, uniform cost accounting methods, credit bureau functions, interchange of patents, foreign trade activity, setting freight charges in order to unify prices, collective purchasing, standardization and simplification of materials and processes, formulating trade ethics and practices, and restricting channels of distribution. The general theme that runs through his book is that a trade association may do almost anything, provided it conceals its monopolistic purposes through insisting that it is carrying out the new ideas of what has been called "co-

operative competition". "... When competitors meet informally and frequently," says the author, "the always-present possibility of an expressed or implied concerted arrangement as to future prices or production policy, must be avoided."

LOUIS STANLEY

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